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VOL. VII.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λίγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπι-
κουρείου τι καὶ Ἀριστοτελικὴν· ἀλλ' ὅσα ἔρηται παρ' ἑκάστη τῶν αἱρεσέων
τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μὲτὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἱερωσύνης ἐκιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο
σύνπαν τὸ ἙΚΑΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.

CLEM. ALEX. Strom. L. 1.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
ACLAND's Illustrations of the Vaudois, in a Series of Views	277
Annual Biography and Obituary	339
Anthologia Sacra	522
Anti-Slavery Reporter	244
Appeal, An, to the Clergy; shewing the necessity of a Reformation in the present Constitution of the English Ecclesiastical Establishment	97
Art in Nature, and Science Anticipated	542
Bacon's Examination of certain Passages of Scripture, which have been appealed to by some late Friends of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in Justification of their Separation from that Institution	268
Balaam. By the Author of "Modern Fanaticism Unveiled"	36
Beverley's Sermon on the Unknown Tongues	ib.
Biblical Series of the Family Cabinet Atlas	157
Brenton's Sermon on the promiscuous use of the Burial Service	87
Burder's (Dr. H. F.) Four Lectures on the Law of the Sabbath	281
Calabria, during a Residence of Three Years	536
Carlike (Rev. J.) on Scriptural Education in Ireland	363
Chenevix's Essays on the National Character	324
Christian Spectator, The	212
Christian's, The, Family Library	522
Conger's (Josiah) Law of the Sabbath, Religious and Political	281
Cooper's (Professor) Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy	1
Copland on Pestilential Cholera	260
Cunningham's (Rev. J. W.) Political Duties of the Ministers of Religion	93
Davies's Ordinances of Religion Practically Illustrated and Applied	281
Dikes's Call to Union	451
Dibdin's Sunday Library	522
Drummond's (Dr.) Letters to a Young Naturalist	161
Dudley's Two Letters Addressed to a Friend in Wales, on the Constitution of the British and Foreign Bible Society	268
Evans's Rectory of Valehead	454
Family Cabinet Atlas	157
Forbes's Sermons on the Lord's Day	281
Georgian Era, The	330
Gilpin and Valpy's Anthologia Sacra	522
Greenfield's Polymicrian Greek Lexicon to the New Testament	189
Novi Testamenti Græci Tameion. Schmidt's Concordance	ib.
Gurney's Brief Remarks on the History, Authority, and Use of the Sabbath	281
Hints on the Evidence of Christianity	361
Terms of Union	451
Hack's (Maria) Geological Sketches	161
Hall's (Bishop) Select Works	522
(Rev. R.) Works. Edited by Dr. Gregory	180. 397
Harkness's Description of the Aborigines of the Neilgherry Hills	422
Hartley's Researches in Greece and the Levant	495
Heeren's Reflections on the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Ancient Nations of Africa	225
Henley's (Lord) Plan of Church Reform	512
Hoole's Personal Narrative of a Mission to the South of India	422
Hough's Letters on the Climate, Inhabitants, &c. of the Neilgherries	ib.

	PAGE
Innes's Liberia; or the Early History of the American Colony of Free Negroes on the Coast of Africa	78
Keightley's Mythology of Ancient Greece and Italy	277
King's Comparative Claims of the British and Foreign Bible Society calmly Discussed	268
Landers's Journal of an Expedition to Explore the Course and Termination of the Niger	369
Læ Bas's Life of Wicliff	522
Lessey's Sermons on the Priesthood of Christ	547
Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge	97, 522, 528
Literary Intelligence	96, 187, 278, 366, 459, 550
Macfarlan's Treatise on the Authority, Ends, and Observance of the Sabbath	281
Milner's History of the Seven Churches in Asia	495
Modern Sabbath, The, Examined	281
Morison's (Dr.) Sermon on the Christian Pastor Visiting his Flock	276
Narrative of Events connected with the late Disturbances in Jamaica	544
Neander's History of the Christian Religion and Church during the Three First Centuries	461
Noel's (Hon. and Rev. B.) Appeal on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society	ib.
North American Review on Reform	471
Park's Dogmas of the Constitution	ib.
Poland, Homer, and other Poems	442
Prison Discipline, Eighth Report of the Society for Improving	313
Pritchard's Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations	145
Report (Annual) of the General Union for Promoting the Observance of the Christian Sabbath	281
Rights of Industry, The	1
Sabbath Question, The, a Question of Civil and Religious Liberty	281
Sacred Offering, The	89
Saturday Evening. By the Author of "The Natural History of Enthusiasm"	172
Scott's (Rev. J.) Trinitarian Bible Society	268
—— Luther and the Lutheran Reformation	522
Sibree's Expostulatory Epistle to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry	87
Simeon's Sermons on the Offices of the Holy Spirit	36
Sismondi's History of the Italian Republics: (Lardner's Cyclopædia.)	276
Spain and Portugal, History of. (Lardner's Cyclopædia.)	441
Swan's Idolatry, a Poem	355
Taylor's (Rev. C. B.) Record of a Good Man's Life, &c.	345
Taylor's Tales of the Saxons	550
Theological Library, The	522
Tiptaft's Letter to the Bishop of Salisbury	87
Tour in England, Ireland, and France. By a German Prince	67
Vestry Library, The	522
Vevers's Essay on the National Importance of Methodism	97
Wardlaw's Discourse on the Sabbath	281
Whately's (Dr.) Introductory Lectures on Political Economy	1
Wilks's (Rev. C. S.) Bible Society Question Considered	451
Wilson (Rev. D.) on the Divine Authority and Perpetual Obligation of the Lord's Day	281
—— Evidences of Christianity	48, 361
Woodrooffe's (Mrs.) Shades of Character	345
Woods's (Dr.) Letters to the Rev. N. W. Taylor	212
Working Man's Companion, The	1
Works recently published	96, 188, 280, 368, 460, 552

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JANUARY, 1832.

- Art. I.—1. *Introductory Lectures on Political Economy*, being Part of a Course delivered in Easter Term, MDCCCXXXI. By Richard Whately, D.D., Principal of St. Alban's Hall; Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford. 8vo. pp. 238. Price 7s. London, 1831.
2. *Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy*. By Thomas Cooper, M.D., President of the South Carolina College, and Professor of Chemistry and Political Economy. Second Edition, with Additions. 8vo. pp. 366. Price 10s. 6d. Colombia, S. Carolina. Hunter, London. 1831.
3. *The Working-man's Companion*. The Rights of Industry: addressed to the Working-men of the United Kingdom. By the Author of "The Results of Machinery." § 1. Capital and Labour. 18mo. 1s. sewed. London, 1831.

NEXT to Theology in importance, is that science which, next to Theology, is in the most unsatisfactory state, its very name operating on multitudes of readers as a mental scarecrow;—we mean of course, Political Economy. As to its importance, its paramount importance in relation to man's secular interests, there can be no question. The subjects of which it undertakes to treat, embrace the constituent principles of society, the objects of all sound legislation, the means and conditions of national prosperity and of individual advancement. Its aim is to 'analyse the transactions and dealings that take place between men who are combined in a political community', with a view to deduce from facts and consequences the true 'philosophy of commerce'; taking that word in its widest sense, as comprising all the exchanges that take place in society, and the principles of fiscal legislation. As usually defined, political economy would seem.

to be but a branch, though a most comprehensive one, of political science. The term is not, perhaps, very happily chosen, being apt to suggest vague and indistinct notions; yet, we do not perceive with Archbishop Whately, that, when resolved into its etymology, it implies any apparent contradiction. Economy, the management of a family, or the administration of a domestic establishment, preserves, in its application to the management of the concerns of a political family, the same general import: it is the management of the body politic. The name which the learned Prelate would have preferred as 'the most descriptive, and, on the whole, least objectionable, is that of *Catallactics*, 'or the Science of Exchanges.'

'Man might be defined, "an animal that makes exchanges"; no other, even of those animals which in other points make the nearest approach to rationality, having, to all appearance, the least notion of bartering, or in any way exchanging one thing for another. And it is in this point of view alone that Man is contemplated by Political Economy. This view does not essentially differ from that of A. Smith; since, in this science, the term wealth is limited to *exchangeable* commodities; and it treats of them so far forth only as they are, or are designed to be, the subjects of exchange. But for this very reason, it is, perhaps, more convenient to describe Political Economy as the science of Exchanges, rather than as the science of national Wealth.'

pp. 6, 7.

The proposed definition of Man, is about as good as the ancient one of a biped without feathers; but we have met with well authenticated anecdotes of dogs and elephants who have acquired very tolerable notions of barter. One accomplished individual of the canine species was in the practice of repairing with his halfpenny to a purveyor of food, and paying the coin in exchange for his money's worth. We have a more substantial objection, however, against Dr. Whately's definition of man, and of the science in question. The laws of population have hitherto been considered as strictly belonging to political economy. Now, in treating of this subject, man must, we presume, be regarded in other points of view than that of 'an animal that makes exchanges'; for, although the subject of population is contemplated by political economists chiefly in its bearing upon the value of labour, which may be termed an exchangeable commodity, it is impossible to treat satisfactorily of such a subject, without taking into consideration man's moral nature, as well as his physical attributes, and a variety of facts which cannot class under *Catallactics*.

The truth is, that political economy has come to mean much the same as political science, properly so called,—the science or art of governing a commonwealth; for it undertakes to ascertain the principles by which all laws affecting trade, agriculture, and manufacturing industry, all fiscal enactments, revenue laws, po-

like laws, and even colonial affairs should be regulated. In short, it embraces almost every subject of legislation, except juridical science and what may be termed political ethics, of which law is as it were the logic. Now why not call the study at once by the simple, intelligible name of political science; retaining the word economy, if it be wanted, as a subordinate designation, in reference to what assuredly forms but a branch of such inquiries,—the sources and distribution of wealth? To say that political economists treat only of the subject of national wealth, is not correct in point of fact, as may be seen by turning to almost any work which embraces the general range of inquiry. So long as they confine themselves to such topics as exchanges, currency, value, taxation, their inquiries and discussions are properly described as strictly *economical*, relating only to the means by which wealth may be preserved or increased. But how can we treat of labour, apart from ‘the rights of industry’, the duties arising out of the social relations, the condition and claims of the labourer? How treat of national wealth, apart from the collateral poverty, or without sliding out of mercantile into statistical inquiries? Dr. Whately expresses his wish, that the complaint sometimes urged against Political Economists, ‘of confining ‘themselves to the consideration of wealth’, were better founded than it is; that they would avoid digressing into questions appertaining to any other branch of politics. ‘To inquire how far ‘wealth is *desirable*, is to go out of the writer’s proper province.’ True, if the inquiry be as to the desirableness of wealth to the individual in a moral point of view. Not so, (as we shall see hereafter the Author himself admits,) if it relate to the desirableness of national wealth under certain circumstances and conditions, affecting or endangering the constitution of society, and the permanency of those institutions by which wealth itself is protected. The effect of narrowing the object of inquiries essentially involving such considerations, is only to ensure their being fundamentally erroneous.

Nothing has tended so much to retard the progress of political science, as the substitution of abstract inquiries for sound deduction from the wide range of connected and mutually illustrative facts. Hence, some of the most brilliant treatises of modern Economists have been among the least satisfactory; often displaying much acute reasoning built upon some specious fallacy. One of the greatest of fallacies is an abstract proposition involving imaginary conditions, to which nothing actual really corresponds, and which, unlike a general fact, (which is true on the average, and therefore in a majority of particular facts,) is true of no particular case, is never realised. Of this description is the axiom, that ‘the rate of wages must depend on the proportion ‘which the whole capital bears to the whole amount of the la-

'bouring population',—a position which may be styled an imaginary truth, but is a practical fallacy: that is, it is never true in fact, because there are actual circumstances overlooked in the proposition, which destroy the alleged dependence of the rate of wages upon the aggregate of capital. No one could have deduced such an axiom from facts, for facts supply a palpable refutation of the statement. The total *amount* of wages received by the aggregate labouring population cannot exceed, it is true, that of the whole capital; but this arithmetical truism throws no light upon the causes which determine the *rate* of wages.

We have referred to this, simply as an instance of a class of errors which have tended not a little to throw obscurity and uncertainty over a science which requires to be built upon the most cautious induction from fact and experience. Abstract reasoning, the semblance of mathematical demonstration, is wholly out of place in such inquiries; as much so as in ethical or physiological inquiries, or in purely historical investigation. The only truths in Political economy are facts; which *à priori* truths seldom are. That two and two make four, though mathematically certain, does not, it has been remarked, hold good in 'the arithmetic of 'taxation'. And among the vulgar errors which long passed for indisputable maxims of political science, are many such apparent truisms. Dr. Cooper, in shewing the importance of the study, has exhibited a formidable catalogue of false maxims 'heretofore, 'and even at this day, adopted as true, and acted on as beneficial.' A few of the propositions which, as being contrary to his opinions, he would explode as 'dangerous fallacies', we should take the liberty of retaining, as deserving of less summary treatment; but the greater part of them, we can have no hesitation in concurring with this stern Republican in denouncing as obsolete prejudices. We shall transcribe a few specimens, as serving to illustrate the sort of opinions which it is the object of political science to rectify.

'That wealth consists in money or coin.

'That what one nation gains by commerce or manufactures, another loses.

'That national superiority depends on successfully repressing the industry, and impoverishing the resources of other nations.

'That it is better to make at home every thing we want, rather than permit other nations to profit by selling to us.

'That national prosperity is to be judged of by the balance of trade, as represented by custom-house entries.

'That a country may be enriched by compelling the people to purchase during an indefinite length of time, inferior commodities at exorbitant prices.

'That population is always, and by all means, to be encouraged.

'That high taxes are not injurious, because they urge to great exertion; and when spent at home, they foster industry of all kinds.

‘ That national splendour is a sure sign of national wealth and national happiness.

‘ That the prosperity and increasing riches of a handful of manufacturers, is the same thing with national prosperity ; and that the great mass of the people, the consumers, are as nothing in the scale.

‘ That we should make laws to increase the wealth and influence of great capitalists, and to put more completely under their subjection the poor who work for them : that is, we ought so to frame our national system, as to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer.’

Cooper, pp. 22—24.

These and other similar maxims, although they may not all have been distinctly enunciated as axioms of political science, have been both urged in substance, and acted upon for ages, in every civilized country of Europe. If political economy be a new science, it is an old craft. There has always been afloat, abundance of unwritten theory respecting all the matters of trade, government, and national policy to which it relates ; and our new knowledge has been forced upon us by the fatal mistakes and misfortunes which have led to more accurate investigation. True science is but the register of observation.

It is a wise remark of Rousseau, cited in the invaluable little tract on the Rights of Industry, that ‘ it requires a great deal of ‘ philosophy to observe what is seen every day.’

‘ To no branch of human knowledge can this remark be more fully applied, than to that which relates to the commonest things in the world ; namely, the Wants of Man, and the Means of satisfying them. . . . It is not more than a century ago, that even those who had “ a great deal of philosophy ” first began to apply themselves “ to observe what is seen every day ” exercising, in the course of human industry, the greatest influence on the condition and character of individuals and nations. The properties of light were ascertained by Sir Isaac Newton, long before men were agreed upon the circumstances which determine the production of a loaf of bread ; and the return of a comet after an interval of seventy-six years, was pretty accurately foretold by Dr. Halley, when legislators were in almost complete ignorance of the principle which regularly brought as many cabbages to Covent Garden as there were purchasers to demand them.’

Rights of Industry, pp. 5, 6.

But this principle, that supply will ultimately be regulated by the demand, which now ranks among the fundamental axioms of the science, is one which it would have been extremely difficult to arrive at, or to establish, by any *à priori* or abstract reasoning. Experience and observation have established the fact, which was constantly before the eyes of all who had any concern in such transactions ; but it is only of late years that Philosophy has learned to observe, instead of prescribing laws of her own devising.

The importance of cultivating any branch of knowledge is, in a great degree, proportioned to the positive mass of ignorance and error which it has become necessary to displace. 'I wish for my own part,' says Dr. Whately, 'that there were no such thing as Political Economy;'—he means, no occasion for such a thing, no necessity for directing our attention to the study itself. And he thus explains himself.

'If men had always been secured in person and property, and left at full liberty to employ both as they saw fit; and had merely been precluded from unjust interference with each other;—had the most perfect freedom of intercourse between all mankind been always allowed;—had there never been any wars, nor (which in that case would easily have been avoided) any taxation;—then, though every exchange that took place would have been one of the phenomena of which Political Economy takes cognizance, all would have proceeded so smoothly, that probably no attention would ever have been called to the subject. The transactions of society would have been like the play of the lungs, the contraction of the muscles, and the circulation of blood in a healthy person, who scarcely knows that these functions exist.' pp. 92, 93.

This is very much like saying, that, if man had not fallen, had there existed in his bosom no bad passions to generate wars, injustice, fraud, and violence, there would have been required no legislation, no government. Lawyers and kings, as well as political economists and divines, might then have been dispensed with. So says Thomas Paine. 'Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness: the former promotes our happiness *positively*, by uniting our affections; the latter *negatively*, by restraining our vices. Society in every state is a blessing; but government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil. Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence: the palaces of kings are built on the ruins of the bowers of paradise. For, were the impulses of conscience clear, uniform, and irresistibly obeyed, man would need no other law-giver; but, that not being the case, he finds it necessary to surrender up a part of his property, to furnish means for the protection of the rest.' The purpose which dictated these similar representations, was as opposite as the characters of the writers. Dr. Whately means to make a concession to those who depreciate Political Economy, for the purpose of combating with the greater advantage their unreasonable prejudices, by shewing that they might as well quarrel with anatomical science and the medical art, which would have had no existence but for disease. The Author of 'Common Sense' is endeavouring to draw his reader into a concession that may render him the more easily beguiled and entangled by the sophisms it is designed to introduce. But, although thus opposite in their spirit, both statements imply neither more nor less than this; that, in a condition of society al-

together different from what has ever existed in this world, there would be no necessity for the restraints of Law or for the science of Government. In such a state of things, possibly, there might be no such thing as property, no such transaction as an exchange of the products of labour. Otherwise, the subject matter of political economy, which is simply the knowledge of the laws of the social phenomena, would still have existed and have deserved attention; just as the structure and functions of the human system would have claimed admiration, had there been no disease. This, the learned Prelate would readily admit; for, in a subsequent passage, he expresses his opinion, that, 'if the time should ever arrive, when the structure of human society, and all the phenomena connected with it, shall be as well understood as Anatomy and Physiology, it will be regarded as exhibiting even more striking marks of Divine Wisdom.'

To wish, then, that there were no such thing as Political Economy, would be to wish that the most entire ignorance prevailed with regard to the true principles by which the interchanges of commerce, the combinations of industry, the division of labour, should be regulated, so as to promote individual or national welfare; or else, to wish that all these were known intuitively, instinctively, and that human society exhibited the unerring operation of such laws as govern the republic of the ants or the monarchy of the bees. But the wish is vain. We have only to choose between political economy and political disorder—between knowledge and ignorance. We are at present in the uncomfortable position of being about half way between both; and from this half-knowledge, leading to erroneous views and erroneous treatment, has accrued the aggravation of many evils which it was sought to cure. But to impute to Science, the evils occasioned by the want of it, is a very absurd, though a very common mistake.

Bonaparte was a great enemy to Political Economy: 'he de-tested the name,' says Dr. Whately; and his hatred cost him dear.

'When he endeavoured by all possible means to destroy the commerce of the Continent with this country,—means which brought on ultimately the war which ended in his overthrow,—there is no doubt he believed himself to be not only injuring us, but consulting the best interests of his own dominions. Indeed, the two ideas were with him inseparable; for, all that he had himself acquired having been *at the expense of others*, he could not understand how we could gain except by their loss. Yet, all the while, he was in the habit of saying that Political Economy, if an empire were of granite, would crumble it to pieces. That erroneous Political Economy may do so, he evinced by the experiment he himself tried: but to the last, he was not aware that he had been in fact practising such a system—had been prac-

tising political economy, in the same sense in which a man is said to be practising medicine, unskilfully, who through ignorance prescribes to his patient a poisonous dose.' pp. 96, 97.

The most difficult questions in Political Economy, the learned Prelate remarks, are every day discussed among us, with unhesitating confidence, not merely by empty pretenders to Science, but by persons avowedly ignorant of the subject, and boasting of their contempt for knowledge; 'persons neither having, nor pretending to have, nor wishing for, any fixed principles by which to regulate their judgement on each point.

' Questions concerning taxation, tithes, the national debt, the poor-laws—the wages which labourers earn, or ought to earn,—the comparative advantages of different modes of charity, and numberless others belonging to Political Economy,—and many of them among the most difficult, and in which there is the greatest diversity of opinion,—are debated perpetually, not merely at public meetings, but in the course of conversation, and decisions of them boldly pronounced, by many who utterly disclaim having turned their attention to Political Economy. The right management of public affairs in respect of these and such like points, is commonly acknowledged to call for men of both powerful and well cultivated mind; and yet, if every man of common sense is competent to form an opinion, at the first glance, on such points, without either having made them the subject of regular study, or conceiving that any such is requisite, it would follow that the art of government (as far at least as regards that extensive and multifarious department of it, pertaining to National Wealth) must be the easiest of all arts;—easier than even the common handicraft trades, in which no one will knowingly employ a man who has not been regularly taught. And the remark of the Chancellor Oxenstiern to his son, "*Quàm parvâ sapientiâ regitur mundus,*" must be understood to apply not only to what is, but to what ought to be, the state of things.

' Many of you probably have met with the story of some gentleman, (I suppose it is usually fathered on a native of a neighbouring island,) who, on being asked whether he could play on the violin, made answer, that he really did not know whether he could or not, because he had never tried. There is at least more modesty in this expression of doubt, than those shew, who, having never tried to learn the very rudiments of Political Economy, are yet quite sure of their competence to discuss its most difficult questions.

' You may perhaps wonder how it is, that men should conceal from themselves and from each other so glaring an absurdity. I believe it is generally in this way: they profess and intend to keep clear of all questions of Political Economy; and imagine themselves to have done so, by having kept clear of the *names*. The *subjects* which constitute the proper and sole province of the science, they do not scruple to submit to extemporaneous discussion, provided they but avoid the title by which that science is commonly designated.' pp. 84—86.

How much the nation has suffered from this presumptuous, unteachable ignorance in those depositaries of the collective wisdom who glory in being of the old school, it would be easy to prove, but difficult to calculate. These old-school politicians have never discovered, however, any disposition to quarrel with the theories of the new school economists, when they fell in with their own interests. When Mr. Ricardo *demonstrated*, that rent is no component part of price, because the market-price of grain produced from high-rented, good land, and from low-rented, inferior land, is the same, the precious fallacy was welcomed as the decision of an oracle. Yet, by the same reasoning it might be proved, that profits are not a component part of price; since the price of corn is the same in the market, whether produced from land that yields a profit to the farmer, or from land on which all the profits of cultivation are absorbed by the expenses. And if neither rent nor profits determine price, neither, according to Mr. M'Culloch, do wages; for, in his examination before a Committee of the House of Commons, being asked whether he considered that, when wages rise, the price of commodities will increase, he replied: 'I do not think that a real rise of wages has any effect whatever, or but a very imperceptible one, on the price of commodities.' What is it then, the learned Philosopher was asked, that does affect prices? Answer: 'An increase or diminution of the quantity of labour necessary to the production of the commodity.' How admirably this explains the fact, that the immense saving of agricultural labour by means of machinery, and the improved husbandry of large farms, of which we heard so much thirty years ago, was coeval with the reign of high prices and high profits too!

It is far from our intention, in the present article, to attempt an enumeration, much less any discussion of the various questions which divide the old and modern schools. Our object is, to illustrate the sovereign and urgent necessity of acquiring right views and clear opinions upon matters of universal and every day interest. We wish that the compliment paid to us by the American Professor were better founded. 'In England and Scotland', says Dr. Cooper, 'no well informed gentleman is permitted to be ignorant of the labours of Adam Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo, any more than of Shakspeare, Milton, or Pope.' In his profound admiration of the discoveries of Ricardo and Malthus, we must profess that we do not sympathize. Their writings have tended to lead the public far away from the true path of inquiry, and to convert a science resting on observation, historic fact, and practical evidence, into a scholastic debate respecting the mere technicalities of expression, or a hideous chain of paradoxes at apparent war with religion and humanity.

Hitherto, indeed, little ground has been afforded for the ex-

pectation, that the science of political economy will be greatly advanced by University professorships. Much good may accrue from them, however, indirectly, by their having the effect of dispelling the prejudices against the study prevailing among those who are destined to become the territorial proprietors and legislators of the country ; prejudices partly arising from the notion that its conclusions are hostile to the truths of religion, partly from the dry, repulsively abstruse, and apparently uncertain character of the study. It was with a view to combat these prejudices, and to remove the erroneous impressions in which they have their origin, that Dr. Whately was induced to offer himself as a candidate for the Oxford Professorship, recently founded by the munificence of Mr. Henry Drummond, who has by this enlightened application of his wealth, entitled himself to the gratitude of his country. 'By accepting the endowment of a Professorship of Political Economy, the University,' Dr. Whately remarks, 'may be regarded as having borne her public testimony against the existing prejudice ; and as having thus rendered an important service to the public, independently of the direct benefits resulting from the cultivation of the science.'

'I trust,' adds the learned Prelate, 'that before many years shall have elapsed, the views of the University in accepting, and of her public-spirited Benefactor in founding, the Professorship, will be to a considerable extent realized ;—that idle prejudices against the science will be done away by a distinct view of its real character ;—and that there will be no one who will not be ashamed of employing, much more of deliberately recommending, (as some have ventured to do,) undefined language, and a loose style of reasoning, in a subject in which the most careful accuracy of expression is most especially called for. The time is not, I trust, far distant, when it will be regarded as discreditable, not to have regularly studied those subjects, respecting which, even now, every one is expected to feel an interest—most are ready to adopt opinions—and many are called on to form practical decisions.' pp. ix—xi.

By undertaking the novel duties of this not very inviting appointment, Dr. Whately, and his predecessor, Mr. Senior, (the first professor on Mr. Drummond's foundation, and now Professor of Political Economy in the King's College,) have honourably evinced their public spirit and their ardent desire to promote the advancement of liberal knowledge. Mr. Senior commenced his labours with two lectures (delivered in Easter Term, 1828) on the subject of Population ; in which it appears to have been his object, to vindicate the political mathematics of Malthus from the practical conclusions to which his principles lead, by means of some ingenious distinctions, which he afterwards admits, in correspondence with Mr. Malthus himself, to be in great measure verbal. After having shewn a disposition to enter the lists with the

East India College Professor, he seems to lose confidence in his own powers, and to succumb under his authority. The next year, Mr. Senior delivered three lectures 'on the cost of obtaining money, and on some effects of private and Government paper money,'—a topic not very happily adapted to a university audience. In Easter Term, 1830, he chose for his subject, 'The Rate of Wages;' and the three lectures were published, with a preface 'on the causes and remedies of the present Distresses.' These lectures are characterized by little originality, and certainly throw no very strong light upon the main question: they exhibit, in fact, a perplexity arising from the very modesty of the Author. Mr. Malthus, in apologizing for venturing to controvert the accuracy of Mr. Ricardo's principles, expresses a feeling of deference similar to what, we cannot but think, must have hampered Mr. Senior. 'I have so very high an opinion of Mr. Ricardo's talents as a political economist,' he says, 'and so entire a conviction of his perfect sincerity and love of truth, that I frankly own, I have sometimes felt almost staggered by his authority, while I have remained unconvinced by his reasonings. I have thought that I must unaccountably have overlooked some essential point, either in my own view of the subject, or in his.' This kind of doubt is both creditable and salutary to one who is but feeling his way into an intricate inquiry which is as yet new to him. The thoughts flow clearer from having met with such obstructions in their channel. But a man must throw aside the trammels of pupillage, before he can with advantage become a teacher. The greatest service, perhaps, that Mr. Malthus has rendered to the science, is by his confutation of those very reasonings by which he was staggered. Mr. Senior is evidently far from being reconciled to many of the tenets of the school to which he has attached himself; for he is disposed to reject some of the very conclusions which naturally and logically flow from the theories he has adopted. But, as has been remarked by an American Reviewer, who has examined his Lectures with much acuteness, 'while he rejects the conclusion out of deference to facts, he retains the premises from respect to authority.'

Dr. Whately adopted a safer, and at the same time a more useful course, by commencing his labours in this new field with lectures of a character avowedly and strictly introductory. These lectures are eight in number. The first four are occupied with a vindication of the science, and an exposure of the mistakes and prejudices prevailing with regard to its nature and tendency. In the fourth lecture, its connexion with Natural Theology is briefly adverted to, as affording illustration of the Divine wisdom displayed in the provisions for the existence, the well-being, and the progress of Society. And here, the learned Lecturer, not forgetful of his higher character as a religious teacher, takes occasion

to advert to the grand and overwhelming difficulty which crosses, in some direction or other, every branch of human inquiry, how devious soever from what may seem its native region, and to which many would wish to confine it. It meets us alike in physical science, in intellectual philosophy, in economical, and in metaphysical inquiries. Now it assumes the shape of physical evil, of disease, aberration, and suffering; now that of moral disorder, depraved tendency, or degraded nature. It is like a fissure running deep through successive strata, and evidently distinct from their natural formation;—a rent produced by some awful convulsion, but extending to the very foundations of the social system.

‘In every part of the universe,’ remarks Dr. Whately, ‘we see marks of wise and benevolent design; and yet, we see in many instances apparent frustrations of this design; we see the productiveness of the earth interrupted by unfavourable seasons,—the structure of the animal frame enfeebled, and its functions impaired, by disease,—and vast multitudes of living beings exposed, from various causes, to suffering and to premature destruction. In the moral and political world, wars and civil dissension,—tyrannical governments, unwise laws, and all evils of this class, correspond to the inundations, the droughts, the tornados, and the earthquakes of the natural world. We cannot give a satisfactory account of either;—we cannot, in short, explain the great difficulty, which, in proportion as we reflect attentively, we shall more and more perceive to be the *only* difficulty in theology, the *existence of evil* in the Universe.

‘But two things we *can* accomplish; which are very important, and which are probably *all* that our present faculties and extent of knowledge can attain to. One is, to perceive clearly, that the difficulty in question is of no *unequal* pressure, but bears equally heavy on Deism and on Christianity, and on various different interpretations of the Christian scheme; and consequently can furnish no valid objection to any one scheme of religion in particular. Another point which is attainable is, to perceive, amidst all the admixture of evil, and all the seeming disorder of conflicting agencies, a general tendency nevertheless towards the accomplishment of wise and beneficent designs.’

pp. 114—116.

In the ensuing lecture, Dr. Whately examines the hypothesis which supposes mankind to have emerged from barbarism, and gradually to have raised themselves to the higher stages of civilization; and he shews, that all the historical evidence of which a negative position is susceptible, is against the supposition, putting aside the testimony of Scripture. No savage tribe appears ever to have risen into civilization, except through the aid of others who were civilized; and there is every reason to conclude, that all savages must originally have degenerated from a more civilized state of existence. The true origin of civilization, then, must have been *Divine* instruction. Not that a knowledge of all

the arts of life was divinely communicated to the first race of mankind; but the state in which they were placed, was such as at once enabled and incited them to commence and continue a course of advancement, and was therefore far removed from what is called a state of nature, that is, the unnatural, denaturalised state of barbarism. Agreeably to this view of the subject, sanctioned as much by historical fact as by Scripture, it is uniformly found, that society must have been brought up to a certain starting-point of civilization, analogous to that in which the first generation of mankind appears to have been placed, before the tendency to advancement comes into operation. But, that point being attained, 'the causes which tend to the gradual increase of wealth in a ratio even greater than the increase of population,' and to the growth of all that we call by the collective name 'Civilization,' are thenceforward at work; with more or less certainty and rapidity, according as the obstacles are less or more powerful; and no boundary to the efforts of these causes seems assignable.'

In the Sixth and Seventh Lectures, the Author traces the progress of civilization from what may be viewed as the primitive condition of society; rude, but not barbarous; in possession of the simplest and most essential arts, a certain degree of division of labour, and a recognition and tolerable security of property. He shews how diversity of production, arising from the division of labour, would lead to more and more frequent exchanges; till barter would naturally be superseded by the employment of the sign and pledge of commodities; that is, money. He next examines how far the progress of society in wealth, and the progress of knowledge, are in themselves favourable to moral improvement, or the reverse. 'The presumptions,' it is remarked, 'are on the affirmative side.'

'For, in the first place, there is one antecedent presumption, from what we know of the divine dispensations, both natural and supernatural. I am aware, what caution is called for in any attempt to reason à priori from our notions of the character and designs of the Supreme Being. But in this case there is a clear *analogy* before us. We know that God placed the Human Species in such a situation, and endued them with such faculties and propensities, as would infallibly tend to the advancement of Society in wealth, and in all the arts of life; instead of either creating Man a different kind of Being, or leaving him in that wild and uninstructed state, from which, as we have seen, he could never have emerged. Now if the natural consequence of this advancement be a continual progress from bad to worse,—if the increase of wealth, and the development of the intellectual powers, tend, not to the improvement, but rather to the depravation, of the moral character,—we may safely pronounce this to be at variance with all analogy;—a complete reversal of every other appointment that we see throughout creation. And it is completely at variance with the re-

vealed will of God. For, the great impediments to the progress I am speaking of, are, war and dissention of every kind, insecurity of property, indolence and neglect of providing for ourselves, and for those dependent on us. Now God has forbidden Man to kill, and to steal; He has inculcated on him gentleness, honesty, submission to lawful authority, and industry in providing for his own household: if, therefore, the advancement in national wealth, which is found to be, by the appointment of Providence, the result of obedience to these precepts—if, I say, this advancement naturally tends to counteract that improvement of the moral character, which the same God has pointed out to us as the great business of this life, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion, that He has given contradictory commands;—that He has directed us to pursue a course of action, which leads to an end the very opposite of what we are required to aim at.

‘In the next place, it may be observed, that, as the tendencies towards selfishness and rapacity—cruelty—deceit—sensuality—and all other vices, exist in all mankind in every state of society; so, the counteracting and restraining principles, of Prudence, Morality, and Religion, will have the less or the more sway, (speaking generally, and taking a society in the mass,) according as each community is less or more advanced from a state of rude and barbarian ignorance. Savages, it should be remembered, and all men in proportion as they approach the condition of savages, are *men* in respect of their *passions*, while, in *intellect*, they are *children*. Those who speak of a state of nature, i. e. of uncultivated nature, as one of pure and virtuous simplicity, and regard vice as something introduced, imported, and artificial, are ignorant of what they might learn from observation, and even from consciousness, as well as from Scripture—the corruption of human nature. The actual existence of this—the proneness, i. e. of Man to let the baser propensities bear rule over Reason and Conscience, and to misdirect his conduct accordingly—this corruption, or original-sin, or frailty, or sinfulness, or whatever name it may be called by, is, I say, in respect of its actual existence, not a matter of Revelation, (any more than that the sun gives light by day,) but of experience. What Revelation does teach us, is, that it is not to be accounted for merely by bad education, unwise laws, excess of artificial refinement, or any such cause, but arises from something inherent in the human breast; inasmuch as we have before us the recorded case of those who fell from a state of innocence, when none of those other causes existed.’ pp. 179—183.

After adducing some further considerations in support of this cheering belief, that, as a general rule, advancement in national prosperity must be favourable to moral improvement, and pointing out the causes which have led to the opposite opinion; the Author sums up his argument in the conclusion, that ‘as the Most High ‘has evidently formed society with a tendency to advancement in ‘national wealth, so He has designed and fitted us to advance, by ‘means of that, in virtue, and true wisdom, and happiness.’ Such is the apparent design of a bountiful Providence,—although, hither-

to, no nation has properly and adequately availed itself of the advantages which increased and increasing national wealth holds out in respect of moral advancement. Some remarks 'on the difficulties and dangers most peculiar to a wealthy community, and on the faults which its members are most apt to commit, in not rightly availing themselves of its peculiar advantages,—in not rightly estimating those duties, and guarding against those dangers which are especially connected with such a state of things,'—form the subject of the concluding lecture.

Many are the circumstances incident to a wealthy community, which may lessen or counteract the favourable results of national prosperity in reference to the moral condition of society. Among these, Dr. Whately enumerates, unwise laws,—such as game-laws, and laws whose object is the exclusion of foreign productions for the supposed benefit of domestic industry; the tendency of such enactments being 'to arm against the laws large bodies of persons not, in the outset, destitute of all moral principle, but whose mode of life is a fit training to make them become so,—namely poachers and smugglers.' Slavery, war, a corrupt religion, a defective state of criminal law, are also briefly noticed among the active causes of demoralization; and also, an excessive inequality in the distribution of wealth. 'If a large proportion of the wealth of a community consist of the enormous and overgrown fortunes of a few, that community has by no means such promising prospects in respect of the intellectual and moral advancement of the rest of the people, or even of the possessors of those fortunes, with one that enjoys a greater diffusion of wealth.' Here, the question may suggest itself, How far is such excessive inequality the natural and certain concomitant of an advanced stage of national prosperity? and if not, to what errors in legislation is the evil attributable? A satisfactory solution of this most delicate problem would be one of the most valuable contributions to political science that could be offered. One circumstance noticed by the Author as more immediately connected with national wealth, which may prove unfavourable to national morality, is a consequence of the division of labour, when carried to a great extent;—'the evil of reducing each man too much to the condition of a mere machine, or rather of one part of a machine; the result of which is, that the mind is apt to be narrowed, the intellectual faculties undeveloped, or imperfectly and partially developed, through the too great concentration of the attention on the performance of a single and sometimes very simple operation.' The evil is pointed out by Adam Smith in a passage cited by the learned Lecturer. 'The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations, of which the effects too are, perhaps, always the same, or very nearly the same, has no occasion to exert his understanding, or to exercise his invention in finding

‘out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur. He naturally loses, therefore, the habit of such exertion, and generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become. . . . His dexterity at his own particular trade seems, in this manner, to be acquired at the expense of his intellectual, social, and martial virtues. But, in every improved and civilized society, this is the state in which the labouring poor, that is, the great body of the people, must necessarily fall, unless Government takes some pains to prevent it.’ This consequence of the division of labour is far, however, from being peculiar to an improved or wealthy state of society : it must equally attend upon the very earliest stages of civilization. Even in that rude state which precedes the introduction or improvement of manufactures, the ploughman, the woodman, the farrier, the wheelwright, the carpenter, the tinman, and other humble artisans and labourers, would be placed in the condition here described as so fatal to intelligence ; that of spending a whole life in the performance of a few simple operations. Nor would it be found at all borne out by fact, that the dexterous mechanic whose employment is absolutely uniform and stationary, is, on the average, inferior in understanding, judgement, or a susceptibility of ‘generous, noble, or tender sentiment,’ to the agricultural labourer, the shepherd, the pedlar, or the backwoodsman. Dr. Whately admits, that Adam Smith, in the long passage extracted, ‘greatly overrates the intelligence, thoughtfulness, and mental activity of barbarians,’ which he contrasts with the mental torpor of the lower orders in a civilized society ; if ‘he has not *much* exaggerated the stupid narrowmindedness of the labouring classes where their education is totally neglected.’ There is exaggeration in both parts of the picture ; and, besides this, the very important fact is overlooked, that, in the barbarous societies, that education of the lower classes is impossible, which the division of labour so greatly facilitates. The evils here attributed to an excessive division of labour, are chargeable only on the exaction of excessive labour. It is not the labourer’s being reduced to the condition of one part of a machine by the simple, uniform nature of his employment, that leads to the unhappy results described, but his being compelled to work sixteen hours of the four-and-twenty in order to earn a bare subsistence ; which is no necessary consequence of the division of labour, nor, we apprehend, of an advancement in national wealth and prosperity.

Another inconvenience adverted to as resulting from a high degree of division of labour, is, ‘the additional liability to the evil of being thrown out of employment.’ This inconvenience, though it may be greatly mitigated, cannot, Dr. Whately thinks, be *entirely* obviated in an advanced state of society, without not only foregoing the advantage of the division of labour, but intro-

ducing the most oppressive compulsory enactments. It is, however, a fortunate countervailing circumstance, that, in those employments which are the most liable to fluctuation, wages are generally the highest; so that, in prosperous times, the workman of steady habits may make some little provision that shall enable him, when employment falls short, to subsist for a time, till he can procure his livelihood by other means or in another neighbourhood. Of these two evils, however, the contraction of the faculties and mental debasement resulting from a too limited range of occupation, and the danger of being thrown out of work, the appropriate remedies are to be found, Dr. Whately justly remarks, in 'judicious education and habits of provident frugality.' And 'that advanced state of Society which is the most exposed to the evils, is also the most favourable to the application of the remedies.'

'A small degree of care in education will diminish the extreme helplessness which is often found in manufacturing labourers. The women in particular are often so improvident, in devoting themselves exclusively and unremittingly to a single operation, for the sake of earning higher wages *for the present*, that they grow up ignorant of the common domestic offices; and when they marry, are wholly dependent on such as they hire for those purposes; so that a fall of wages, or want of work, reduces their families to a state of much greater discomfort than others, with the same absolute poverty, have to encounter. The plan has been adopted, accordingly, in many schools, of teaching the children, even of both sexes, both needlework and several other little manual arts, which at all times may be a convenience to them, and, in emergencies, may materially alleviate the pressure of distress.' p. 224.

The importance of this suggestion will be appreciated by all who are practically acquainted with the condition of the lower classes of our towns and villages, and who are aware how much the suffering and moral degradation of the poor are increased by their ignorance of the most needful arts of domestic economy. 'Cottage comforts' will cost one family less than a bare subsistence will another*. Nor does that deserve the name of education, which

* A case in point has recently come under our observation, which may be worth detailing. We know two families residing in the same neighbourhood, and in houses of the same rent; the father and mother, in each instance, hard-working, honest, and sober persons. The one man earns twenty shillings a week, and his wife and boys earn several shillings in addition. The other man earns eleven shillings a week; his wife, nothing; and he has two or three *unproductive* children. Yet, the latter family live in a state of comparative comfort: the former, from the mismanagement of the ill-taught, though well-meaning wife, are in a condition of perpetual discomfort and uneasiness.

does not tend to qualify for the most necessary employments of after life.

Dr. Whately is no advocate, however, for a niggard, jealous, timid, and reluctant impartation of the boon of education to the lower classes. He is the firm, explicit and enlightened friend of the most liberal diffusion of knowledge. His sentiments on this point do him the highest honour; and we cannot but rejoice that Oxford should have heard such doctrines from one of her Professors; still more, that they should have proceeded from one whose recent elevation to almost the highest ecclesiastical dignity in poor benighted Ireland, will place in his hands so much power and influence at this critical juncture. Mandeville, in a treatise against Sunday Schools, throws out a remark worthy of a West India planter or a Turkish pasha: 'If a horse knew as much as a man, I should not like to be his rider.' Dr. Whately forcibly replies:—

'There is a reason for this, beyond what was in the Author's mind. It would be not only *unsafe*, but *unjust*, to treat a *rational* being (which on that supposition the horse would be) as a *slave*; governed not for his own benefit, (however humanely,) but for his master's. If, in any country, it is the settled plan to keep the lower orders in this kind of brutish subjection, it is at least consistent to keep them in brutish ignorance also. But where they are admitted not only to freedom, but also, many of them, to a share of political power, it is the height of inconsistency to neglect any means of instructing them how to make a good use of their advantages. It seems preposterous to reckon a man fit to take a part in the management of a ship, and yet unfit to learn any thing of navigation.' p. 218.

'Many apprehend mischief from what they call *over-education of the mass of the people*; the too great amount, or too sudden increase of the knowledge placed within their reach,—of their taste for intellectual pursuits, and their disposition to think and judge for themselves. They are thence, it is said, disposed to be puffed up with conceit at their superiority to their unenlightened forefathers, arrogant, and averse to subordination; deeming themselves competent to decide on every question; rashly embracing crude theories, and craving after innovation, from an idea that all ancient institutions must be either obsolete remnants of a state of general barbarism and darkness, or contrivances of fraudulent oppressors for imposing on the simple.

'I am far from thinking that serious dangers of this kind do not arise as accompaniments of the progress of Society, in wealth, and in knowledge and intelligence. But I am convinced they do *not* arise from the too great amount, or too great diffusion, of mental cultivation, but from *misdirected* and *disproportionate* cultivation. And this misdirection does not consist so much in the imparting of knowledge which had better be withheld from a particular class, or the exercise of faculties which, in them, had better be left dormant, as in the violation of *proportion*—the neglect of preserving a due *balance* between different studies and different mental powers. No illustration will better ex-

plain my meaning than that of the bodily growth. A child neglected at the period of growth, will become rickety and deformed, from some of the limbs receiving perhaps no absolutely undue increase, but a disproportioned increase; while others, do not indeed shrink, nor perhaps cease to grow, but do not increase at the same rate. In such a case, we sometimes say that the head or the trunk is grown too large for the limbs; meaning, however, not absolutely, but relatively;—not that the growth of one part is in itself excessive, but that the other parts have not kept pace with it. And though such a distortion is worse even than a general dwarfish and stunted growth, it is obvious that a full and regular development of all the parts, is far preferable to either; and also, that it is, when Nature is making an effort towards growth, not only more desirable, but more practicable, to make that an equable and well-proportioned growth, than to repress it altogether. We should endeavour rather to strengthen the weak parts, than to weaken the strong. But if we take no pains to do either the one or the other, it is plain that both the corporeal, and also the intellectual and moral expansion, must lead to disease and deformity.

‘As far as relates to Religion, the most important point of all, both in itself, and as far as relates to the question now more immediately before us, I will avail myself of the words of a recent publication, which express sentiments in which I wholly coincide.

“A vast and momentous moral crisis is rapidly approaching—the rise of Education throughout the mass of the People. Amidst pretensions to sensible spiritual communion on the one hand, and a careful avoidance of recognising any divine interposition on the other—amidst theories invented or imported, that would subject the sacred volume to the rules of mere ordinary criticism, opposed only in partial and personal controversy—a large portion of the community, which has been hitherto uneducated, is suddenly roused into free inquiry, and furnished with ability to perceive all that darkens and deforms the subject; but—it must be owned and lamented—not furnished with that spiritual training, which alone enables the inquirer to see his way through it.

“It is not that the people at large are without any religious and moral instruction; it is not that they have *absolutely* less now than heretofore; they have probably more. But the progress of spiritual and worldly knowledge is unequal; and it is this inequality of progress that constitutes the danger. It is a truth which cannot be too strongly insisted on, that if the powers of the intellect be strengthened by the acquisition of science, professional learning, or general literature—in short, secular knowledge, of whatever kind, without being *proportionately* exercised on spiritual subjects, its susceptibility of the objections which may be urged against Revelation will be increased, without a corresponding increase in the ability to remove them. Conscious of having mastered certain difficulties that attach to subjects which he has studied, one so educated finds it impossible to satisfy himself about difficulties in Revelation; Revelation not having received from him the same degree of attention; and, forgetful of the unequal distribution of his studies, charges the fault on the subject. Doubt, discontent, and contemptuous infidelity, (more frequently secret than avowed,)

are no unusual results. It seems indeed to have been required of us by the Author of Revelation, that his Word should have a *due share* of our intellect, as well as of our heart ; and that the disproportionate direction of our talents, no less than of our affections, to the things of this world, should disqualify us for faith. What is sufficient sacred knowledge for an uneducated person, becomes inadequate for him when educated ; even as he would be crippled and deformed, if the limb which was strong and well-proportioned when he was a child, should have undergone no progressive change as his bodily stature increased, and he grew into manhood. We must not think to satisfy the divine law, by setting apart the same absolute amount as the tithe of our enlarged understanding, which was due from a narrower and more barren field of intellectual culture.

“ Nor let it be imagined that this is true only of minds highly gifted, and accomplished in science, elegant literature, or professional pursuits. It is not the *absolute* amount of worldly acquirements, but the proportion that they bear to our religious attainments, be these what they may, that is to be dreaded. If the *balance* of intellectual exercise be not preserved, the almost certain result will be, either an utter indifference to religion ; or else, that slow-corroding scepticism which is fostered by the consciousness, that difficulties corresponding to those that continue to perplex our view of Revelation, have, in our other pursuits, been long surmounted and removed.”

‘ It may be added, that with respect to another matter also of high importance in itself, and (as I trust has been shewn) not unconnected with religion,—Political Economy, as ignorance, or erroneous views concerning it, are in themselves to be deprecated, so, there is here also, an especial danger in a *disproportionate* neglect. For since men who regard themselves as generally well-educated, *will* always, however uneducated they may in fact be in respect of these subjects, reckon themselves, though they may shun the *name* of Political Economy, competent judges of the questions pertaining to it, which appear to be every one’s business, the consequence must be, that their education on other points will only serve to superadd to their ignorance, the rashness of confident self-conceit.

‘ How far, either in respect of these or of other points, any given community may be exposed to the dangers resulting from an ill-regulated and disproportionate growth, must depend on the rapidity of its increase in wealth and intelligence, combined with the negligence, or the obstinacy, with which its members forget, or refuse, to conform themselves to the situation in which they are placed :—to the degree of prevalence (to speak more precisely) of two opposite errors : one, that of such as deprecate the increase and spread of intellectual culture, as in itself an evil, though an evil which, after all, they can only murmur at, but not effectually repress ; and look back with vain regret on those ages of primitive rudeness and torpid ignorance, which they cannot recall ; the other, that of those whose views, though more cheerful, are not more enlightened,—who hail with joy every symptom of any kind of advancement, without at all troubling themselves to secure an equable and well-balanced advancement, or apprehending, or ever thinking of, any possible mischief from the want of it. The one party sighs for

the restoration of infancy ; the other exults in the approach of a distorted maturity.' pp. 227—234.

To give any additional circulation or support to views and sentiments so admirably just and important as these, is one of the most gratifying parts of our public duty. Nor have we any object more at heart, than to aid in wakening the attention of the thoughtful and pious to the measures demanded by the present moral crisis. We commenced this article with the observation, that, next to theology, political science is in the most unsatisfactory state. For we cannot but deeply feel, that the progress of 'spiritual and worldly knowledge' has been, as the learned Prelate remarks, deplorably unequal ; and that no proportionate provision has been made for the intellectual appetite that has been excited, so far as regards sacred knowledge. But not to dwell upon this point, (to which we shall have occasion to advert more distinctly hereafter,) the expediency of placing the truths of political economy within the reach of the people, is becoming every day more pressing and apparent. 'There are some very simple but important truths belonging to the science', Dr. Whately remarks, 'which might with the utmost facility be brought down to the capacity of a child, and of which, it is not too much to say, the Lower Orders cannot even safely be left ignorant.'

'Can the labouring classes (and that too in a country where they have a legal right to express practically their political opinions) be safely left to suppose, as many a demagogue is ready, when it suits his purpose, to tell them, that inequality of conditions is inexpedient, and ought to be abolished ;—that the wealth of a man whose income is equal to that of a hundred labouring families, is so much deducted from the common stock, and causes a hundred poor families the less to be maintained ;—and that a general spoliation of the rich, and equal division of property, would put an end to poverty for ever?'—p. 217.

For the purpose of disabusing the minds of the working classes or operatives of these pernicious delusions, the admirable little treatise on the 'Rights of Industry' has been put forth by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge ; and nothing can be better adapted to its object. It is at once clear, scientific, conciliating, and unanswerable. It seems that a person of the name of Hodgskin has been delivering lectures on Political Economy, in which he represents it as a great hardship, a 'principle of slavery', that the labourer should have to work, not merely for his own subsistence, but for the profit of the capitalist who employs him, and but for whose capital he would be unable to turn his labour to account. The manner in which this doctrine of roguery is exposed, will give our readers a fair idea of the popular style of the volume.

'The mischievous ignorance of such doctrines may be very easily

shewn. If some capitalist did not receive a profit upon the employment of the capital, it would remain unemployed—it would be useless. Capital, the accumulation of *former* labour, according to this doctrine, ought to be the property of the *present* labourers; for it is evident, that if it is not allowed to yield a profit to the capitalist, he may as well give up the trouble of taking care of it. The labourers of 1831, we say then, according to this notion, divide the capital, and work more advantageously to themselves with the profits of the capital thus appropriated;—for there must be appropriation after all. But new labourers will rise up—the labourers of 1832, or of 1842, who have had no share in the spoil. They, of course, according to the doctrine thus laid down at the Mechanics' Institute, have a better title than the labourers of 1831, who have become capitalists; because, not being capitalists, they contribute more labour to procure some of the capital by exchange. They, therefore, dispossess the labourers of 1831;—and these, again, having become non-capitalists, have a new title to the capital, and dispossess the labourers of 1832. Their title would be exactly similar to that of the priest described by Strabo, the ancient geographer, whose right to the priesthood was acquired by having murdered his predecessor; and consequently, the business of the priest in possession was not to discharge the duties of the priesthood, but to watch sword in hand, to defend himself against the new claimant to the office. The doctrine which we have exhibited is, that the accumulation of *former* labour belongs to the *present* labourers; and that the best title to the accumulation is to have added nothing towards it, but only to be willing to add.

‘It is necessary to establish this point of the security of property, as one of the rights, and we may add as the greatest right, of industry;—and therefore, at the risk of being thought tedious, we further call your attention to the general state of the argument in reply to those who wish to render property insecure.

‘The value of an article produced, is the labour required for its production.

‘Capital, the accumulation of past labour, represents the entire amount of that labour which is not consumed;—it is the old labour stored up for exchange with new labour.

‘Those who attach an exclusive value to new labour as distinguished from old labour—or labour as distinguished from capital—say that the new production shall be stimulated by the old production, without allowing the old production to be exchanged against the new;—that is, that the old production shall be an instrument for the reward of new labour, but not a profitable one to its possessor.

‘The doctrine therefore amounts to this; that labour shall be exchanged with labour, but not with the produce of labour,—or that there shall be no exchange whatever;—for, if the present labourers are to have the sole benefit of the capital, the principle of exchange, in which both exchangers benefit, is destroyed. There must be an end of all exchanges, when the things to be exchanged are not equally desired by both parties. If the capitalist is to lend or give the capital to the labourer without a profit, or without a perfect freedom which would entitle him to withhold it if no profit could be obtained, the

balance is destroyed between capital and labour. Accumulation is then at an end; because the security of the thing accumulated to the accumulator is at an end. The security is at an end, because, if the new labour is to have the advantage of the old labour without compensation or exchange, the new labour must take the old labour by force or fraud; for the new cannot proceed without the old;—labour cannot stir without capital. Accumulation, therefore, being at an end, labour for an object beyond the wants of an hour is at an end. Society resolves itself into its first elements. We return to the powerless condition, first of the North American Indians;—and thence, having overturned the security of property which they respect, we go backward to the state of man in the lowest depth of brute degradation, such as scarcely exists amongst the rudest tribes.

‘Feeling therefore, as we must do when not blinded by ignorance or a desire for plunder, that production depends upon the union of capital and labour, and that the first right of each is security of property, let us see what facility of production does for the condition of the lowest and the feeblest man—such as the prodigal, who would have starved at once, had there been imperfect production, or at any rate could never have passed out of the condition of a labourer.

‘When we look at the nature of the accumulated wealth of society, it is easy to see, that the poorest member of it who dedicates himself to profitable labour is in a certain sense rich—rich, as compared with the unproductive and therefore poor individuals of any uncivilized tribe. The very scaffolding, if we may so express it, of the social structure, and the moral forces by which that structure was reared, and is upheld, are to him riches. To be rich is to possess the means of supplying our wants: to be poor is to be destitute of those means. Riches do not consist only of money and lands, of stores of food or clothing, of machines and tools. The particular knowledge of any art,—the general understanding of the laws of nature,—the habit from experience of doing any work in the readiest way,—the facility of communicating ideas by written language,—the enjoyment of institutions conceived in the spirit of social improvement,—the use of the general conveniences of civilized life, such as roads—these advantages, which the poorest man in England possesses or may possess, constitute individual property. They are means for the supply of wants, which in themselves are essentially more valuable for obtaining his full share of what is appropriated, than if all the productive powers of nature were unappropriated, and if, consequently, these great elements of civilization did not exist. Society obtains its almost unlimited command over riches, by the increase and preservation of knowledge, and by the division of employments, including union of power. In his double capacity of a consumer and a producer, the humblest man has the full benefit of these means of wealth—of these great instruments by which the productive power of labour is carried to its highest point.

‘But if these common advantages, these public means of society, offering so many important agents to the individual for the gratification of his wants, alone are worth more to him than all the precarious power of the savage state,—how incomparably greater are his advan-

tages, when we consider the wonderful accumulations, in the form of private wealth, which are ready to be exchanged with the labour of all those who are in a condition to add to the store. It has been truly said, "it is a great misfortune to be poor, but it is a much greater misfortune for the poor man to be surrounded only with other poor like himself." The reason is obvious. The productive power of labour can be carried but a very little way without accumulation of capital. In a highly civilized country, capital is heaped up on every side by ages of toil and perseverance. A succession, during a long series of years, of small advantages to individuals, unceasingly renewed and carried forward by the principle of exchanges, has produced this prodigious amount of the aggregate capital of a country whose civilization is of ancient date. This accumulation of the means of existence, and of all that makes existence comfortable, is principally resulting from the labours of those who have gone before us. It is a stock which was beyond their own immediate wants, and which was not extinguished with their lives. It is our capital. It has been produced by labour alone, physical and mental. It can be kept up only by the same power which has created it, carried to the highest point of productiveness by the arrangements of society.'

Rights of Industry, pp. 57—62.

The progress which the doctrines of the Rotunda, 'where the priest of Atheism and the orator of plunder stand side by side', have made among the lower classes, may well excite anxiety, especially when illustrated by the flames of burning corn-ricks and the riots of Bristol. But does not the melancholy insight thus obtained into the state of our increasing population, prove that their instruction has been fatally neglected; that the sowers of tares have been more active than those who should have done the work of the husbandman? The mass of the people have been judged incapable of knowledge, till they have demonstrated their capacity for receiving truth by embracing pernicious error. Thus is ignorance sure to play the part of the serpent to those who have madly fostered it, mistaking its temporary lethargy for a change of nature. The remedy, however, is in our own hands. The gibbet will not put a stop to the moral infection of such delusions; but instruction will. The fundamental truths of political economy, however they may have been mystified, are happily on a level with the humblest degree of intelligence. 'Education', remarks Dr. Cooper, 'universally extended throughout the community, will tend to disabuse the working class of people in respect of a notion that has crept into the minds of our mechanics, and is gradually prevailing, that manual labour is the only source of wealth;' (we will not inquire at present, how far our political economists are answerable for the origination of this notion;) 'that it is at present very inadequately rewarded, owing to combinations of the rich against the poor'; (a notion which, unhappily, is not altogether without foundation;) 'that

‘ mere mental labour is comparatively worthless ;’ (political economy has called it ‘ *unproductive* ’ and valueless in respect to national wealth ;) ‘ that property or wealth ought not to be accumulated or transmitted ; that to take interest on money lent or ‘ profit on capital employed, is unjust.

‘ These are notions ’, continues the American Professor, ‘ that tend strongly toward an equal division of property and the right of the poor to plunder the rich. The mistaken and ignorant people who entertain these fallacies as truths, will learn, when they have the opportunity of learning, that the institution of political society originated in the protection of property, and this has ever continued to be its main end and design ; that equality to-day would be inequality to-morrow ; that labour is, of itself, nearly useless, and can never be brought into action but by means of wealth or capital ; that the rich are as necessary to the poor, as the poor are to the rich ; and that there is no injustice in giving Raffael a little higher wages per day than his colour-grinder received, or a better recompense to Canova, than to the man who quarried the marble. James Watt and Robert Fulton were worth more to society, than five hundred thousand hedgers and ditchers. If the mechanics should seriously continue to press such silly notions, they will justly make enemies of those who would otherwise be their reasonable friends ; and they are much mistaken if they suppose the wealthy will not find the means, as well as the inclination, to defend their property against the attacks of ignorance and injustice. All that a good government can do, is, to give to every man an equal chance of acquiring useful knowledge ; to lighten as much as possible the burdens of taxation in favour of the poor ; to grant no artificial privileges to the rich ; and to throw no impediments in the way of industry or talent.’ *Cooper*, pp. 333, 4.

Of the volume from which this extract is taken, we cannot now attempt any formal review. That would require, indeed, a series of elaborate articles ; and the time is gone by, when a monthly journal could hope to detain the leisurely attention of habitual readers : we fear that we have already trespassed upon the patience of ours. On some future occasion, we shall advert more specifically to some of the views and reasonings which it embodies ; and in the mean time, widely as we differ from Dr. Cooper in a few of his doctrines, we bear a willing testimony to the acuteness, independence of mind, and extensive knowledge both of books and things, of principles and facts, which the work exhibits. We have read it with much pleasure and interest, though, as we have intimated, not without a reserve of opinion on some points ; and we strongly recommend a similar perusal of the volume to all who wish to arrive at clear and correct notions on the important subjects which it embraces. The work is professedly not intended for adepts in the study, but for novices. The style of treating the various topics, is therefore popular, sometimes a little desultory, with frequent and designed repetitions ; and the vo-

lume, if reprinted, would be susceptible of advantageous compression and abridgement. In its present shape, however, it is a highly valuable publication. Those who wish to pursue the subject, are recommended by the Writer to peruse Adam Smith, Say, Malthus, Ricardo, M'Culloch, and Mill. The list might have been extended a little further with propriety; yet, with the exception of the first, all their works may be regarded, perhaps, as the mere scaffolding of the science, of the greatest temporary utility, but preparatory only to the construction of a permanent system. If science begins where controversy ends, how small a proportion, as yet, does the science bear to the mass of discussion from which it has yet to be evolved!

It is a happy circumstance for this country, and may redound, if wisely improved, infinitely to our advantage, that not only is America raising up a powerful body of literary competitors and coadjutors, the watchful observers and acute critics of all that is put forth on this side of the Atlantic; but the New World furnishes an open area for the development of practical experiments which it would not be very safe or feasible to make on the crowded surface of Europe. Society has been undergoing, in the Western hemisphere, a series of most instructive experimental processes, with a view to ascertain the truth of various political theories hostile to old institutions. The cost, the danger, the explosions and other mischief of these experiments, we have been mercifully spared: but the benefit may be our own. Had they not been made at that safe distance, it might have become necessary, —there would have been at least a stronger temptation, to experimentalise here. For example, the 'Co-operative System', first suggested in Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, has been tried by Mr. Rapp at Harmony, near Pittsburgh, with an equivocal success, which seems to have excited the emulation of Robert Owen. Discarding all religion from his establishment, the latter attempted, with a heterogeneous assemblage of about a thousand persons, something of the same kind in the state of Indiana. What was the result? 'All the co-operators', says Dr. Cooper, 'lost their time and their labour; many of them lost property; Mr. Owen, most of all.' The scheme is not yet given up in this country, because here, its visionary nature has not been exposed by facts; but in America, it is an exploded bubble. 'I despair', says the American Professor, 'of finding a cure for the evils attendant upon the unequal distribution of wealth, in the co-operative system. No experiment yet made upon that system, so far as I know, offers any permanent hope of continuance, unless under circumstances of ignorance and privation that forbid us to wish for its adoption.' (p. 357.)

In this country, it has been thought by many persons, that the unequal distribution of wealth has some connexion with our aris-

tocratic institutions ; while our economists have been disposed to resolve all the sufferings of the labouring classes into the general principle by which population presses hard upon the means of subsistence. In America, where there are no aristocratic institutions, no tithes, no national debt,—where, generally speaking, the wages of labour are high and provisions cheap, and where millions of unoccupied acres await the labour of unborn generations, can there be such a thing as abject poverty and the extreme of wretchedness, with their necessary concomitants, turbulent discontent and radicalism ? Let us hear the declaration of the present Writer.

‘ The misery of the mass of the people in Great Britain is not unknown to, *nor is similar misery unfelt in our own country.* By the report of the Committee on the pauperism of the lower classes in Philadelphia last year (1829), a woman working with her needle as industriously as the powers of nature will permit, can hardly spare out of her scanty earnings for a twelve months’ labour, more than sixteen dollars to supply herself with food. This is a miserable state of things.’ *Ib.* pp. 348, 9.

‘ By the report of the Secretary of the State of New York, Feb. 9, 1824, it appears that

In the State of New York one person in 220 is a pauper.

Massachusetts	68
Connecticut	150
New Hampshire	100
Delaware	227
Interior of Pennsylvania .	339
State of Pennsylvania .	265

‘ Of the paupers, at least three out of four become so by the use of ardent spirits. A consumption fostered and encouraged by legislators and police magistrates for the sake of taxation. The great manufacture of Pennsylvania is whiskey. The most productive object of city taxation, tippling-houses.’ *Ib.* pp. 302, 3.

From an article on ‘ Imprisonment for Debt ’ in No. LXXI. of the North American Review, we copy, without comment, the following paragraph.

‘ Considered in connexion with the public good, and the cause of civil liberty, the facts disclosed in the last Annual Report of the Prison Discipline Society, present matter of reflexion painfully important. *Seventy-five thousand freemen* (debtors) in these United States, it is estimated, are annually subjected, under the existing laws, to the infamous punishment of a prison ! And the costs and damages exceed, in many cases, the amount of the debts for which they are imprisoned !

‘ There are several governments called *despotic*, where no such outrage on reason and humanity is tolerated. That it is submitted to in this community, is a proof how much practical oppression a people

will endure, who enjoy, in theory, the power of providing a remedy. The acts of the British Government, which drove our fathers to arms, were infinitely less grievous than the laws in question. Nor is there any question of national or party politics, that now excites the sensibility of the people of the United States, which so much concerns them as this subject, in regard to which so great an apathy prevails.'

America is the country in which popular liberty has been supposed to be carried to its highest perfection ; where at least every white man is free ; where republicanism, under various modifications, has had a fair opportunity of displaying its bright attributes, and dispensing its all-comprehending beneficence. Is it too soon to ask for the results ? Below the parallel of 25° N., in the Western hemisphere, it would seem, indeed, that Republicanism will not thrive. Federal Republics, and Republics with a central government, have been tried on various plans, in Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, the Argentine Provinces, and Chile, with the same ill success. Codes, constitutions, and congresses have sprung up and passed away in quick succession ; but hitherto, bitter disappointment has been the only result of every fresh experiment. It appears to be now admitted by the politicians of the North, that, for the present, a monarchy might perhaps be the best form of government for the uneducated population of the Southern States. With regard to Mexico, at one time the most hopeful of the new republics, the North American Reviewers thus confess and apologize for the too sanguine expectations entertained by their countrymen, that it would present a glorious instance of 'the abstract and practical beauty of a system of distinctive Americanism' founded on republican institutions. 'We saw', they say, 'an indignant people breaking the fetters of colonial tyranny ; and it required no wonderful activity of imagination, and implied no national vanity, to believe, that the example which our ancestors had set, was the exciting cause and guiding principle of our Spanish American brethren. In the delusion which the sight of this partial similitude produced, the points of difference were forgotten, and all the repulsive features of the drama were lost sight of. We did not recollect the accidental impulse given to the revolutionary spirit by events in Europe ; the horrors of the conflict, stained by excesses and barbarities unheard of in civilised warfare ; the comparative degradation of the patriot cause for a long series of years ; we put out of view the irregular character of the contest, rarely rising above the level of a guerilla combat, and conducted generally without any indication of military ability ; we forgot that the scene was one exclusively of war and desolation ; and that civil distinction, such as illumined the characters of our Morris and our Franklin, had no existence in the dark atmosphere of this

‘wild conflict. There was no one man, raised, like the Father of our country, above reproach *’. These were points of dissimilarity which, though plain enough now, were not seen then; and the resemblance being once believed to be perfect, the sympathy was complete. When the war ceased, and independence was acquired, we were further gratified by the avowed imitation of our example in the adoption of a federal form of government; and we all recollect the glow of pleasure and pride which every one felt and acknowledged, when it was ascertained that this course would be adopted by our neighbours. But here the resemblance ceased; and from this period, the tide of approving sympathy began to ebb.’ †

We cannot blame our American brethren for indulging in such fond and false calculations, since similar delusions were cherished by many in this country; and the vain hope that the moral regeneration of the nations is to be effected by political theories and the shadowy forms of liberty, has not yet been abandoned, although the lessons furnished by Poland and Belgium, have been added to those supplied by the Mexican and South American revolutions. But at least in the United States of North America, the abstract and practical beauty of pure democracy, and the superior efficiency of republican institutions, may be thought to have received a triumphant demonstration. We have no disposition either to depreciate the institutions of our American brethren, or to deny their adaptation to the specific circumstances of their country; but we wish to put on record in our pages the following monitory avowals and admissions, for the benefit of our own countrymen, and in illustration of the important axiom, confirmed by every fresh page added to the book of history, that the political melioration of society must follow or keep pace with, and cannot precede, the moral and religious emancipation of the people.

‘Liberty and equality are high-sounding words. They may be, and often are, the phrases of selfishness and roguery among those who are

* There now prevails a disposition invidiously to detract from the real merit, and to asperse the character of the patriotic leaders in the South American Revolutions. Bolivar, once indiscriminately eulogised as the Washington of Colombia, and now basely traduced as a tyrant, well deserved the praise due to unimpeachable patriotism and disinterestedness. San Martin was worthy to have been the sovereign of Peru, had not the state of society there been too corrupt to hold together under any thing but an iron despotism. O’Higgins, too, was a man of enlightened mind and unsullied honour. All three had at heart the cause of national independence and rational freedom, and met with the basest ingratitude.

† North American Review, No. XXXI. pp. 330, 331.

only willing to level down to their own condition: they are honest and patriotic, and benevolent and wise, in the mouths of those who are truly desirous to level up to themselves.

‘I am the more inclined to recommend a system of national education, free in every part of it, and open to every citizen who is desirous of benefiting by the use of it,—because, if the *ultra-democratic doctrines* now in vogue, of *universal suffrage and instructed representatives*, are destined to prevail among us, I know no means of remedying their defects in practice, but to diffuse useful information as widely as possible.

‘Many years did I obstinately refuse to acknowledge that there was any truth in the observation, that the people are too often ignorant of, and too often false and traitorous to their own best interests, and that, in many cases, their worst enemies are themselves; but melancholy experience has forced this truth upon my conviction; and however unpalatable to myself or to others to entertain or to express it, I find it impossible to escape from its pressure. But the evil is the result of ignorance; and the only cure for it, the extension of education and of knowledge. . . . I am not afraid of a well-educated, well-informed community; but I already see enough to dread and to deplore the careless, unfeeling despotism of ignorance.

‘When I was young, I was desirous, like Mr. Bentham and his followers, of deducing the maxims of civil government, from what seemed to be the prevailing tendencies of human nature; and I took for granted, that every man, and every body of men, would act uniformly on the obvious motive of self-interest. I was mistaken. The fact is otherwise; not in a few, but in the majority of cases. Neither individuals nor bodies of men are generally guided by just considerations of their own good. They act as often from present temptations, from caprice, from prejudice, from flattery, from temporary excitements, from unfounded likings and dislikings, from imperfect apprehension of the question before them, from unavoidable want of information, from sudden impulse, from want of reflection and consideration,—as they do from deliberate and enlightened views of what will ultimately prove to be their real and permanent interest. The maxims of civil government, therefore, ought not to be founded on any theory of abstract rights, or any *à priori* claims or positions, but on *public utility*, as pointed out by experience; on the result of past facts accurately observed and well considered. Abstract theories of political rights will then only prove useful in their application and operation, when they have been brought to the test of history,—compared with the known conduct of men in communities,—and subjected to the limitations which want of information in the great mass of the people may reasonably suggest, at any assigned period or state of society. Would a republican form of government be expedient at Constantinople or Tombuctoo? . . . The man who would throw experience out of the discussion, in favour of any *à priori* theory, is not a real friend to the cause he professes to advocate; for any theory not founded on facts, is worthless.’

‘All men are said to be “*born free, equal, and independent.*” I know of no sense in which this ever was, or is, or can, or will be true.

.... Are they not every where, have they not been at all times, and will they not ever be, dependent on, subject to the control of the community of which they happen to be then members? Are any two men equal in strength, or in mental capacity, or in education? Why then do we use these vague and unmeaning terms; or, if they have a meaning, what is it but a false one?

‘Among these asserted rights, unalienable, indefeasible,—much spoken of, little understood,—is the right of every human creature in society, to give his assent, by himself or his representative, to every law by which he is to be bound. Hence, the right (as it is called) of *universal suffrage*. If this right exist, it must exist by the will of the society wherein it is to be exercised. If society does not choose to sanction it, what becomes of the right so termed? Who has conferred it, if society has denied it? * . . . Society was instituted for the protection of property. What reasonable claim can they have, who have no property of their own, to legislate on the property of others? Persons employed by the wealthy, and who are themselves poor, and dependent on such employment, will be apt to vote as their employers direct. Their vote in such a case is not their own. They enjoy a nominal right; a right really exercised under the control of their masters and employers. At the last election in New England, was not General Jackson opposed by master manufacturers, who, to ensure the votes of their operatives, had the candidates’ names printed on calico? † If this be not slavery, what is it? Persons who are thus

* The Author goes so far as to add: ‘I know of no natural right but the right of the strongest. I deny any other.’ It would be easy to shew that there are other things of which he does not appear to know; but we are at present concerned only with his admissions; for such, as proceeding from a staunch republican and liberal, the statements above selected must be deemed.

† Dr. Cooper has drawn down upon himself the displeasure of the North American Reviewers, by avowing himself, in this volume, adverse to the encouragement and protection of domestic manufactures in the United States, or at least to the protecting policy, of which in 1813 he was the advocate; and regret is expressed, somewhat uncandidly, that his change of opinions should have ‘happened under circumstances which have a tendency to render the motive of it in any way doubtful.’ (*North American Review*, No. lxx. p. 129.) The meaning of this insinuation is, we presume, that Dr. Cooper, being a Southern States-man, is of course a warm partisan of General Jackson. The Reviewers are zealous *Clay-ites*. Dr. Cooper does not conceal his contemptuous opinion of the idol of the Tariff party. ‘Such doctrines as those which are taught by Mr. Clay and Mr. Rush shew,’ he says (p. 31.), ‘how very far these members of the administration are behind the knowledge of the day.’ Again: ‘The dreadful ignorance both of honest politics and of political economy, displayed by the administration of John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, I leave to the vituperations of history.’ (p. 348.) The ‘wicked system of despotism’ which Messrs. J. Q. A. and H. C. would gladly have

dependent, ought not to be permitted the exercise of a privilege which they possess only in name, and which others can so effectually control. To allow it, is adding enormously to the power of the rich and powerful.

‘If universal suffrage prevail, the political power of the country will be, sooner or later, (and within no long period,) thrown irrevocably into the hands of those who represent the operatives, the labouring classes, the men of no property, to the exclusion of the men who possess property. This event is now exultingly expected by the mechanic meetings of New York and Pennsylvania. . . . When the property of the wealthy becomes an object of welcome legislation to the representatives of the poor, will it be held sacred? . . . My present notion is, to confine the right of voting to householders of a year’s residence actually paying taxes. There ought to be some real, substantial, localized evidence of a man’s stake in the country. . . . In the year 1783, I published in England, a pamphlet in favour of parliamentary reform. The Duke of Richmond’s proposal of universal suffrage was then in vogue among the Reformers. I have had some experience during this interval of nearly half a century; and my present opinions in old age, are not in exact conformity with those of my boyhood; but I trust they are equally in favour of the just rights of the people, against those who would abuse entrusted power.’

pp. 331—3; 360; 363—6.

Let it be recollected, that this modification of opinion in the venerable President of the South Carolina College, is the result of witnessing the working of the universal suffrage and ballot system in *America*. The North American Reviewers assure us, indeed, that the system works well; and that not, as some have imagined, because there is, in the United States ‘a great equality of wealth and intelligence.’ This is not the fact. ‘In our large cities’, they say, ‘there is every shade of human fortune, as in Europe. In Boston, there are two thousand persons and more, who get their daily bread by begging or fraud: these must all be persons of desperate fortune, of abject poverty.’ (What must be the numbers of this class in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans?) ‘Thank Heaven’, adds the Reviewer, ‘we are not *overwhelmed* with pauperism; *but there is in every village something of it*; and between these two extremes, there are all the shades of condition. But popular institutions work equally well in town and country, and

fastened upon the country, is, Dr. C. assures us, suspected and seen through. (p. 328.) The Yankee Reviewers retaliate on the Professor, by reprobating the ‘wild novelties in political economy,’ the ‘chimerical fancies’, &c. broached by the Southern members in Congress; and they represent General Jackson as having had for his supporters, ‘the uninformed and unreflecting part of the community.’ This is a fair specimen of American party-spirit.

‘perfectly well in both.’ There is therefore no incompatibility, they argue, between ‘the existence of an army of paupers’ and republican institutions. Nor is it *more* necessary, we are told, ‘that a republic should be enlightened, than a monarchy. If ‘the people are ignorant under any form of government, they ‘will be cozened and oppressed.’* Under a republican government, they *may be* ignorant; and it is admitted, that ignorance actually prevails in America, even to a dangerous extent.

Having thus demonstrated that aristocratic and monarchical institutions are not the cause of pauperism, and that popular ignorance, mendicity, abject poverty, and vice may equally subsist under any form of government, the Reviewer, not with the best possible grace, proceeds to insist on the certain triumph of the ‘Rule of Three’ representation principle, (the distinctive feature of Americanism,) in all the countries of Europe. He sees ‘no intrinsic difficulty in the adoption by England and the ‘other countries in Europe’, (‘Turkey, we hope, included,) of a constitution like that of the Federal Republic. He thinks that the simplest government must needs be the safest, the least likely to be affected by the convulsions of the times; and claims for the precarious despotism of Russia, and for the cumbrous, complicated, and ill-balanced government of the United States, threatened continually with a dissolution of the federal compact of states upon which it rests,—the character of preeminent safety and permanence.† But are there no peculiar evils or dangers incident to republican institutions? Let us hear this same high American authority. In a recent article, obviously intended to pave the way for the elevation of Henry Clay to the Presidency, at the next election, if the Northern, or Tariff party in the Union can muster sufficient strength, the Writer prefaces his eulogy by some remarks on the importance of holding up to public view the examples of such illustrious men, with a view ‘to elevate and improve the tone of public feeling, and to repress the vulgar appetite for sensual pleasure, wealth, and the mere names of office.’ The contemplation of such characters will inspire, it is remarked, ‘the generous ambition of acquiring distinction, not ‘by a paltry system of intrigue and party management, but by ‘the persevering and active employment of high intellectual endowments for the promotion of the public good. It is only,’ adds the Writer, ‘by the general prevalence of such sentiments

* North American Review, No. lxxxii. pp. 180, 1. Art. *Prospect of Reform in Europe*. This article has been republished in this country, and warmly commended by the Examiner and the Age, the organs of the Radical and the Tory factions.

† *Ibid.* p. 167.

‘ among the young and active portion of the citizens, that our
 ‘ republican institutions can be preserved in their pristine vigour
 ‘ and purity. They constitute that *public virtue* which has been
 ‘ justly described as the vital principle of popular governments,—
 ‘ the conservative power which alone can secure them from the
 ‘ abuses to which *they are peculiarly subject*,—*abuses even more*
 ‘ *frightful and disgusting than those of any other form of po-*
 ‘ *lity.*’*

One consequence of the unlimited extension of the right of suffrage and the perpetual recurrence of the ballot in America, is, that the privilege has come to be regarded with contemptuous indifference by those who are the best qualified to turn it to good account. ‘ Persons of education, talent, leisure, and good intentions’ are heard to ‘ remark with a sort of satisfaction, that they do not go to the polls once in three years.’ Such errors, the Reviewer represents as so dangerous, that, ‘ if they became general, they would be *fatal to the prosperity of the country.*’ ‘ Those who, from indolence or selfishness, withdraw from the perpetual struggle between the adherents of good and evil, are every where the most dangerous allies of the latter party ; and as they share their guilt, so they always sooner or later partake of their reward. Their darling wealth, to the augmentation of which they sacrifice every higher consideration, is torn from them in the indiscriminate rage of civil commotion. Conscriptions, proscriptions, forced loans, political and personal persecution under the forms of law, visit them in the retirements of the counting-room and the dwelling-house ; and they are crushed, at last, under the load of miseries incident to the last stages of misgovernment ; all of which might, and in most cases would, have been averted, had this class of men regularly *gone to the polls, while they had it in their power.* Hence it was, that the Athenian lawgiver wisely ordained, that, on all political divisions, every citizen should take either one side or the other ; and it may be said with perfect truth, that, *without a pretty general observation of this principle, the forms of popular government are impracticable.*’†

Such are the dangers which beset the simplest, most democratic, cheapest, most philosophical, most popular of all governments ! Such the tendencies of universal suffrage and the ballot ! It would seem, then, that other governments than the English monarchy run some risk of finding their euthanasia in

* North American Review, No. lxxiii. p. 352. Art. Life of Henry Clay.

† Ibid. pp. 352, 3.

despotism*. Of all despotisms, that of an autocratic mob is assuredly the worst. And of this, we on this side of the great water are, happily, in no immediate danger.

We may appear to have slid out of political economy into politics; but the distinction between them is arbitrary, and consists less in any difference of the subjects proper to each, than in the different mode and spirit of treating the same topic. The true aim of the philosopher and of the politician, of the professor and of the legislator ought to be the same. One purpose which the preceding citations are adapted to answer, is to undeceive such persons in our own country, as may be inclined to look across the Atlantic for a happier model of government than our own, and to regard the unlimited extension of the elective franchise, in combination with the ballot, as the best means of giving efficiency to the democratic part of our mixed constitution.

Another end which they may serve, is that of shewing how very far from any approximation to the American system is the constitutional plan of parliamentary reform brought forward under the auspices of the present Administration. The basis of the American system is, the representation of numbers, or what has been termed geographical representation. That of the English Constitution, (as of the proposed reform,) is the representation of property. The basis of the borough-proprietory system is the representation of individual interest. The principle of the American system is sectional delegation; that of the British system, election to a public trust; that of the Anti-reform faction, private nomination and secret bargain. In this country, the popular branch of the legislature is itself, from its very constitution, an aristocracy; and such members of it as Hunt are only the ludicrous accidents of the system. Our merchants choose, it may be, a nobleman as the fit guardian of their interests; and our manufacturers look out for some substantial landed proprietor as their representative. In America, were there an aristocracy to choose from, Congress would still be what it is; an intractable mob of lawyers and adventurers, each wrangling for the narrow interests of his party or his political clients—the very sort of representatives which our rotten boroughs have let into Parliament. The representation of the United States is geographical: that of the British Constitution is, so to speak, topographical and historical. The Americans decide every thing by the map and the quadrant: *We* are accustomed to tolerate anomalies of all kinds. Our counties are of every figure and dimension; we have villages larger than cities,—one city without a representative, and

* The paradoxical or sinister prediction of Hume, cited by the Writer of the article on the Prospect of Reform, in the North American Review.

other cities which are counties of themselves; with an infinite diversity of local jurisdiction, traditional usage and privilege, rights corporate and feudal; yet all compatible and perfectly according with an equality of right, as regards the protection of the law. One anomaly, however, does *not* exist in England, which stains the 'pure representation' of the United States. We have no slave-holding counties, although we have unfortunately individual slave-proprietors in the legislature; and if our system of representation is confessedly arbitrary, it does not at once affect to be universal, and pass over a sixth part of the population as divested of the common rights of humanity. The anomalies in the English Constitution resemble those which exist in the physical world: they are not of a moral nature, and therefore indicate nothing 'rotten in the State.' The object of the Reform-bill is not to remove all that is anomalous,—not to level inequalities,—not to square our institutions by any theory, or to adjust our representation by arithmetic; but simply to remove palpable abuses and sources of corruption,—to put a stop to the traffic in public trusts,—to check at least 'the chicane and tyranny of corruption',—and to substitute the legitimate influence of property, and the constitutional weight of the aristocracy, for the dangerous ascendancy of a venal, grasping, pampered, selfish oligarchy. Nor is the object mistaken by the opponents of the Reform bill, whether radical or ultra. Mr. Hunt and Mr. Croker understand the matter perfectly; and the country at large, we believe, begin pretty well to understand *their* political union. Next to the interested and sordid opposition of the borough-holders themselves, it forms the highest panegyric upon this great measure of equity, conciliation, and enlightened policy, which may the gracious Providence of God speedily consummate in mercy to the country!

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- Art. II. 1. *The Offices of the Holy Spirit: Four Sermons, preached before the University of Cambridge in the month of November, 1831. By the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A., Senior Fellow of King's College. 8vo. pp. 102. Price 2s. 6d. London. 1831.*
2. *A Sermon preached at Hull, on the 13th of November, MDCCCXXXI, on the Unknown Tongues. By R. M. Beverley, Esq. 8vo. pp. 38. London. 1831.*
3. *Balaam. By the Author of "Modern Fanaticism Unveiled." 12mo. pp. 272. Price 5s. London. 1831.*

THE venerable Author of the "Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge", has here borne a faithful and energetic testimony against the opposite errors of fanatical delusion and philosophic incredulity, by which, in every age, the

Christian Church has been more or less infested, and which, in the present day, beset with peculiar danger the narrow path of religious inquiry. It has been thought, that the stream of religious knowledge was attaining a higher level; but alas! it is too apparent, that the waters have owed their elevation, in part, to the hidden growth of weeds, now rank and flowering above the surface. The stream wants mowing,—an operation which the servants of Christ will ever find periodical occasion to perform; after which the waters may seem to be diminished in volume and force, but they will be purer and clearer.

Many thoughtful and pious persons are anticipating a season of fiery trial to the Christian Church, in the shape of physical calamity or political judgements; forgetting that the word (*πειρασμος*) has a double meaning, and overlooking, perhaps, in their uncertain calculations of the future, the specific character of the present times, as a season of trial and moral discipline. ‘There seems no possible reason to be given’, remarks Bishop Butler, ‘why we may not be in a state of moral probation with regard to the exercise of our understanding upon the subject of religion, as we are with regard to our behaviour in common affairs. The former is as much a thing within our power and choice as the latter That religion is not intuitively true, but a matter of deduction and inference; that a conviction of its truth is not forced upon every one, but left to be, by some, collected with needful attention to premises; this as much constitutes religious probation, as much affords sphere, scope, opportunity for right or wrong behaviour, as any thing whatever does. . . . Speculative difficulties are, in this respect, of the very same nature with external temptations.’ ‘Nor does there appear any absurdity in supposing, that the speculative difficulties in which the evidence of religion is involved, may make even the principal part of some person’s trial.’ May not then this species of moral probation form the principal trial of a Christian community at some particular season? May it not be the design for which errors, and heresies, and schisms are permitted to trouble the Church, to put those who enjoy the full light of Revelation to the trial, with regard to this moral exercise of their understanding? Have we not, in the New Testament, many distinct references to this species of trial? The Church of Ephesus, for instance, is especially commended, for having “tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and found them liars.” St. Peter predicts, that false teachers would arise, and lead away many, “by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of.” St. John’s exhortation, not to believe every spirit, points to the same moral trial of the understanding. And St. Paul predicts, that the coming of the Man of Sin would be attended with “false signs and miracles, and iniquitous deceits,” the semblance

of real evidence, and forming "a strong delusion", leading many to believe in the fraud. This prediction is customarily restricted to the feigned visions and fraudulent miracles of the Church of Rome, which are, no doubt, primarily referred to. But Protestantism has also had, at various periods, its signs and lying wonders, its prophets and workers of miracles;—teachers of the character so distinctly portrayed by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, as "causing divisions and offences" by their novel doctrine,—men "who serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own appetite, and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple."

It will not be denied, that there is much of this element of division, delusion, and offence at present afloat, if we may be allowed the expression, in the atmosphere of the religious world. It is a period of universal excitement, and religion shares in the effect of that excitement. Religious knowledge has proved to be far less generally diffused than might have been supposed; but ignorance is no longer quiescent and stagnant. Implicit faith has been well nigh destroyed; and that belief alone is adapted to withstand the stir and strife of opinions, which rests upon evidence. Under these circumstances, Christianity makes a peculiar appeal to the understandings of men. To profess a belief in it, costs nothing; nor does the avowal of infidelity subject to any pains or penalties. There is no fiery trial of civil persecution to be dreaded, either by the true Christian or by the heretic. The principal trial of obedience is an intellectual one. One class of speculative difficulties, however, by which the evidence of Christianity might formerly be obscured, has been in great measure cleared away by the labours of learned apologists, the cultivation of Biblical criticism, the clearer light thrown upon the inspired document, and the proofs by which its genuineness and authority are attested. The means of arriving at satisfaction in religious inquiries, have been at once multiplied and simplified, so as to leave the sceptic without excuse. The authority of Christianity is therefore generally acknowledged, even by those who reject its distinguishing doctrines. Another class of speculative difficulties has now come to be the chief occasion of putting the understandings of men to this moral trial; difficulties greatly increased, if not altogether originated, by the controversial aspect given to the truths of Revelation, the enthusiastic perversions of Scripture doctrine, the party divisions, the 'vain jangling', the fanatical extravagance, if not imposture, blended with high and arrogant and intolerant pretensions. The offence and hinderance thus cast up in the way of the uninformed and sceptical, have, there can be no doubt, turned aside or thrown down many; and "blessed are they who are not", in the intended sense, "offended" at these things. As they do not diminish, in the slightest degree,

the real evidence of the Christian doctrine, they cannot excuse irreligion or unbelief; but they put the disposition of the heart to the test; and we may without presumption conclude, that they are permitted for this end. "If any man will do the will of God, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." The rule of faith speaks no ambiguous language. 'There is light enough for those whose main wish is to see; and darkness enough to confound those of an opposite character'.*

Speculative difficulties in religion of this description are not, however, an occasion of trial to the irreligious only: they are adapted to *prove* those who profess themselves Christians, and who may really belong to the Church of Christ. The numerous exhortations and cautions contained in the Apostolic writings, which bear upon this species of trial, might teach us to expect that it would ordinarily constitute a very principal part of Christian probation. Commentators have exercised their learning and ingenuity, in endeavouring to ascertain the history and specific character of the errors, Judaical or Gnostic, against which it was found necessary to warn the Christians of the apostolic age;—the "philosophy and vain deceit," the "voluntary humility and worshipping of angels," referred to in the Epistle to the Colossians; the "fables, endless genealogies, and vain jangling" against which Timothy is put upon his guard; the heresy of Hymeneus and Philetus; the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes; and the false prophets and false apostles mentioned by Paul, Peter, and John. It is a matter of small consequence to us, however, what was the precise nature of those heresies, some of which were so plausible, that St. Paul compares the ministers who propagated them, to "the serpent who beguiled Eve through his subtlety," and to "Satan transforming himself into an angel of light."† The practical inference to be drawn from such allusions and monitions, is evidently, that the Church would, in succeeding ages, be exposed to moral dangers and temptations of an analogous kind. It is clearly intimated by St. James, that some of the "divers trials" of faith which he prepares those whom he addressed to anticipate, would be such as it would require more than human '*wisdom*' to encounter ‡. The Galatian Christians are represented as being *bewitched* by the false teachers who brought them into bondage. In short, the peril of deception is quite as much dwelt upon, as the peril of apostacy in the face of persecution; and facts would amply warrant the belief, that many persons of a certain temperament, might endure the fires of martyrdom with courage and constancy, who would not be able to withstand the intellectual trial of seductive error. It is no very rare phenomenon, to find the heroism of

* Pascal.

† 2 Cor. xi. 4, 14.

‡ James, i. 5.

zeal combined with the knowledge of a novice or the understanding of a child. Stedfastness is, under some circumstances, a higher attainment of magnanimity, as well as a more needful virtue, than courage and fortitude. The latter virtue has been carried to the highest pitch of heroic endurance by women, who are often the first to be "led captive" by the heresiarch, and whose peculiar danger led the Apostle to write: "I will, therefore, that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house, give no occasion to the adversary to speak reproachfully." And again: "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted them to speak: it is a shame for women to speak in the church." * This last direction occurs in immediate connexion with the admonitions relative to the unprofitable display of miraculous gifts; and the exhortation with which it is followed up, is most remarkable: "If any man think himself to be a prophet or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord: but, if any be ignorant, let him be ignorant."

It is a circumstance deserving attention, that the individuals in the present day who are the most deeply persuaded that a time of calamity, and judgement, and fiery trial is at hand, are, both from their characteristic temperament, and from the auguries which have gained possession of their imagination, the most exposed to peril from that opposite trial of Christian stability, to which we have referred as the prominent feature in the present aspect of the times. While gazing on the stars, or looking out for signs in the clouds, they see not the snares which have gathered round their feet. While intent on the approaching Millennium, they suffer themselves to be led by the mirage, only the further from the living waters of "the stream which makes glad the city of God." While inveighing against the abounding infidelity of the day, they are insensible of their own departure from the rule of faith. The errors upon which they strike, resemble sunk rocks, not visible to those who are at the guns, looking out for pirates, and which can be seen only from the mast-head; but upon these unsuspected shoals, faith may be shipwrecked. The present danger is one which calls upon Christians to look well at the chart. It is, in fact, danger of a complicated description, as the danger arising from error always is. To one class, the sceptical, the danger is, lest they should be hardened in infidelity or indifference by the extravagancies and follies of fanaticism. To the enthusiastic, the danger is that of being taken off from their duties, and "corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ,"—of being beguiled to part with the substance of religion for its shadow,—of having the very balance of their mind so far destroyed, that faith

* 1 Tim. v. 14. 2 Cor. xiv. 34.

shall become credulity, zeal intolerance, firmness dogmatism, courage audacity or effrontery, and mental energy a frightful approximation to insanity. But, as we are never in greater danger of going wrong, than at the moment of detecting some error which has involved itself with truth, there is yet another form in which the danger presents itself; that of being alienated in some measure from any doctrine of Scripture, by the unhappy counterfeit or burlesque of that doctrine raised up by fanaticism.

Is any reader disposed to ask, why are all these difficulties and dangers permitted to obscure the evidence of truth, and to narrow the path of rectitude, and to render decision and obedience difficult? The answer is the same as that which Bishop Butler returns to the infidel. We might, without violence, use the words of St. Paul * in this reference: "For there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved, may be made manifest among you." Let it be remembered, that they require nothing more than that probational exercise of our understanding which is itself a duty, which God has a right to require, and which is at once a test of character and a means of virtue. For the trial of faith, and of every other virtue, is designed to issue in its increase,—in the strengthening as well as development of the moral principles and affections, that so an entrance may be ministered to us the more abundantly into the kingdom of Our Lord.

The difficulties of religion have at different periods somewhat varied their aspect. What the doctrine of the Cross was at the original promulgation of the Gospel, the main stumbling-block and most offensive article of faith,—what the doctrine of Justification through Faith was at the period of the Reformation,—the doctrine of Divine Influence is among the Protestants of the nineteenth century. The Cross is invested now with no such associations as rendered it unspeakably repugnant to the Jew, that his Messiah should have been crucified. Martyrdom is glory, and the cross an ensign of triumph. No part of the Socinian's hostility to the faith originates in the prejudice which influenced the Jew, or which rendered the doctrine of Jesus and the resurrection "foolishness" to the Greek. And as to the cardinal doctrine of the Reformation, although much mistake and grievous error prevail with regard to the true ground of acceptance with God through the blood of Jesus Christ, yet, the controversy respecting Justification has greatly subsided, and assumed a milder character of debate; and the spread of evangelical preaching has been accompanied with a considerable modification of the semi-popish scheme on the part of the soi-disant orthodox clergy. But "the work of the Spirit" is to the formalist, pre-eminently, a stumbling-block, and to the philosopher foolishness; exciting,

* 1 Cor. xi. 19.

when pressed upon the conscience, 'a feeling of indignation,' Mr. Simeon remarks, 'inasmuch as it requires of an unregenerate person, a greater degree of submission to God than he is willing to yield, and a closer intercourse with God than he has any inclination to attain.'

'I think,' continues the Venerable Preacher, 'this admits of an easy illustration. It is an indisputable fact, that we are, by nature, altogether alienated from the life of God. Now we all feel, that, when alienated from a fellow-creature, however we may bear with him in a crowd, we are indisposed to have much personal intercourse with him alone. So, also, we feel in reference to God. We can hear of him at a distance, and not be disturbed; but, by reason of our alienation from him, we are averse to be brought into very near communion with him. We can bear with a display of his perfections *in the universe*, because, though we see him *as our Creator*, he is not sufficiently near us to exercise any material control over us: but when he is brought nigh to us *in the law*, as *our Governor*, we feel somewhat of a painful constraint, because of our responsibility to him, and the account we must one day give of ourselves to him at his tribunal. Let him then be brought still nearer to us *in the gospel*, as *our incarnate and suffering God*, and our inquietude is proportionably increased; because we are made to realize more deeply the terrors of his wrath, which demanded such a sacrifice, and the personal obligation which lies upon us to surrender up ourselves unreservedly to him. But, in the offices and operations of the Holy Spirit, we are led to view him, not merely as *God, in the universe*, displaying himself *around us*; or as *God, in his church*, declaring his will *to us*; or as *God, in our nature*, interposing *for us*; but as *God, in our hearts*, dwelling and operating *in us*: and this brings him into such immediate contact with us, and requires of us such a minute attention to all our ways, that we shrink back from every part of the subject, and, for the pacifying of our own minds, cast reflections upon it as visionary, unintelligible, absurd. I do not mean to say, that there is in the minds of men a distinct consciousness of such a process, but only that there is in reality such a process in the human mind, though men are not exactly aware of it. Men do not like to have God too near to them: and the nearer he is brought to them, the more they shew their aversion to that which is the means of presenting him to their minds.' pp. 2—4.

Mr. Simeon's discourses are of a practical, not of a polemical or critical character. Taking for his text, Rom. viii. 9, he proposes to shew, 1. 'Who is that Spirit whom Christians are expected to possess'; 2. 'Why the possessing of that Spirit is indispensable to our being Christ's accepted followers'; 3. 'What that Spirit will work in us in order that we may be Christ's'; and 4. 'What he will work in us when we are Christ's'. In replying to the inquiry, What is meant by having the Spirit, Mr. Simeon makes the following passing reference to the fanatical pretensions of the Row and Regent Square folk.

'Are we all to possess the power of "working miracles, and speak-

ing divers kinds of tongues?" No: the time for such things is long since passed. That they may be renewed at the time when God's ancient people shall be restored to his favour, and the whole Gentile world shall be converted to the faith of Christ, is probable enough: but no such power exists at this day, except in the conceit of a few brain-sick enthusiasts; nor, if it did, would it have any bearing upon the subject before us. The possession of that power would not constitute us Christ's: for we have reason to think that Judas wrought miracles, as well as the other apostles; and yet, as our Lord tells us, he was no better than a devil all the while. That possession of the Spirit of which my text speaks, is of such a discriminating nature, that no man who has it can fail to belong to Christ, and no man who has it not can have any part or lot with him. The Spirit of God is promised to us, to dwell in us as in his temple; for we are to be "the habitation of God through the Spirit;" and he is further to operate in us effectually for all the ends and purposes of our salvation, producing in us all "the fruits of goodness, and righteousness, and truth." His motions may not unfitly be compared with the operations of the soul in the human body. Without the soul, the body cannot perform any vital function whatever: but when that spiritual inhabitant is present with us, and discharges its proper offices, we shew, by the various exercises of our mind and body, that it really dwelleth in us. Now the Spirit of God performs in the soul an office somewhat analogous to this. The soul by itself has respect only to things visible and temporal; but, when filled by the Spirit of God, it occupies itself about things invisible and eternal. And precisely as the body needs the presence and operation of the soul for the discharge of its offices in relation to this world, so does the soul need the influences of the Holy Spirit for the discharge of its duties in reference to the world to come.—pp. 16—18.

We are not aware of any Scriptural or reasonable ground for the conjecture, that miraculous gifts 'may be renewed at the 'time when God's ancient people shall be restored to favour'; and the dangerous tendency of cherishing unwarranted expectations, how innocent soever in themselves, has received such melancholy illustration from the extravagancies of the Millenarians, that we cannot but regret they should obtain the shadow of a sanction from the venerable Writer. That the actual possession of such gifts would neither constitute us Christians, nor prove us to be such, is evident both from the proofs adduced by Mr. Simeon, and from the language of the Apostle in the xiiith chapter of the Epistle to the Corinthians. And if the possession of real miraculous gifts was nothing better, without the moral fruits of the Spirit, than sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal, in what fitting terms shall we express the nothingness of those whose feigned or fancied gifts have carried them far from the 'more excellent way' of the first and chief of the heavenly graces?

Under the third head of inquiry, Mr. Simeon treats very fully of the necessity and nature of Regeneration; and under the

fourth, he illustrates the agency of the Holy Spirit in his three-fold office as a Teacher, a Sanctifier, and a Comforter. The 'crude and enthusiastic conceits entertained by some persons' upon this last subject, are referred to, as having created a prejudice with which the venerable Preacher feels it needful to deal very cautiously. Fearful of being charged with pushing any point to excess, in requiring more than the Scriptures require, or promising more than they promise, or countenancing any fanatical delusion, he confines himself to a very brief statement of the Scripture doctrine, and a practical enforcement of the considerations rising out of it. Mr. Simeon knew his audience, and he may have felt that he had many things to say, which they could not "bear as yet". Yet, how strongly does it confirm our view of this doctrine as the touchstone of Christian profession in the present day, to find that such extreme caution, so guarded and even apologetical a manner of stating the truth, should have been required in addressing the members of a Protestant University! On the other hand, in contrast with the rash, crude, and inflated declamation of some preachers of the day, how admirable appears the "meekness of wisdom" and the sobriety which fears excess!

Mr. Beverley's Sermon, founded on 1 John iv. 1., is a temperate and, upon the whole, judicious exposure of the false pretensions of the 'modern oracles'. Those who have called in question the Writer's orthodoxy, will henceforth have no pretence for their calumnious aspersions. Appended to the Sermon is an 'Authentic Account of the Unknown Tongues', drawn chiefly from the Morning Watch and Mr. Irving's writings; and to this is added, a summary of Mr. Irving's doctrines, extracted from 'No. I. Day of Pentecost'. The disclosure (for such it is to us) is a most painful and revolting one; reminding us of an expression of Howe's: 'Nor can it be said, that herein Satan is transformed into an angel of light: his transformation is, at least, 'in this, very inartificial.' The following is given as a specimen of one of the unknown tongues.

"Hippo-gerosto hippo booros senoote
 Foorime oorin hoopu tanto noostin
 Noorastin niparos hipanos bantos boorin
 O Pinitos eleiastino halimungitos dantitu
 Hampootine farimi aristos ekrampos
 Epoongos vangami beressessino tereston
 Sa tinootino alinoosis O fastos sungor O fuston sungor
 Eletanteti eretine menati."

'After inspecting the above specimen', remarks Mr. Beverley, 'ought we to smile or to weep, when we call to mind that Mr. Irving has, in his Pentecost, repeatedly declared, that, to disbelieve the inspiration of these "tongues" is the crime of blasphemy, which can never be forgiven, either in this world or the world to come?' p. 22.

‘ One mischief has already been done in the case of some pious persons, who, before they had adopted the views of the modern prophets, were humble Christians, in the old way, endeavouring to do good in their sphere of life, “to visit the fatherless and the widows in their affliction, and to keep themselves unspotted from the world;” but since their union with the prophetic school, all their usefulness has ceased; they have given up their schools and their charities, renounced all their old spiritual books, and have become angry disputants and pugnacious mystics, drawing all their spiritual nourishment from *The Morning Watch*, tracts on prophecy, and Mr. Irving’s dark and angry writings. It is evident that the advocates of the unknown tongues are in a state of high mental excitement, hungering and thirsting, not for righteousness, but for *wonders*: for, “unless they see signs and wonders, they will not believe”: and, after all, it seems that no sign shall be given them but that of the prophet Jonas, repeated in the death and resurrection of Christ, which, as it cannot be *now* evidenced by the senses, is not sufficient for the modern *Thaumaturgi*, without the help of sounds which no man can interpret but those who utter them.’
p. 37.

The volume entitled ‘Balaam’, is an attempt ‘to collect and ‘adjust into a whole, the lineaments’ of that remarkable character as found in the sacred volume; and to make the prophet, ‘reprobate yet inspired’, bear testimony, with the power of a witness from the regions of the dead, to the fact, that ‘extraordinary ‘gifts of the Spirit are not always accompanied by the genuine ‘fruits of the Spirit in the hearts and lives of their possessors; ‘and that without charity, the rarest gifts and endowments are ‘nothing worth.’ Those of our readers who have profited by our recommendation of the Author’s former work, (one of the best antidotes to ‘Modern Fanaticism’ that has appeared,) will be prepared to find in these pages, the marks of wise discrimination, an accurate acquaintance with the state of the religious world, sound theology, and an excellent spirit. The present volume merits the additional praise of great ingenuity, sometimes bordering on excess, in filling up the brief outline of the inspired narrative. The view of Balaam’s character, taken by the Author, will be seen from the following extracts.

‘ In one part of Holy Writ, Balaam is called a “prophet”, (2 Pet. ii. 16;) in another, “a soothsayer”, or diviner. Josh. xiii. 22. We believe that he was both; *i. e.* that he was a zealous supporter of heathenish superstition, and, at the same time, a professed believer in the God of Abraham, who was pleased, at least on one very memorable occasion, to make him the medium of communicating his will by prophetic inspiration. The most exalted conception of the true God that can be presumed to have found place in the unsanctified mind of this almost polytheist, must be limited to that of a supreme deity; and that an individual possessing no higher principle than such semi-idolatrous reverence for Jehovah, should yet be employed by him as the mi-

nister of his truth, might admit of some dubiety, if it were not for the fact, to which the records of Scripture and the experience of every age have borne ample testimony, that instruments, in themselves utterly worthless, have, in many instances, been made to subserve the purposes of proclaiming or accomplishing the inimitable plans of the Divine mind, in reference to His own glory and the best interests of His redeemed church. And this fact, instead of derogating from the dignity of the Almighty's operations, throws a ray of ineffable lustre upon some of the more remarkable developments of his prescient wisdom and overruling energy.' pp. 26, 27.

'There is not the slightest ground for presuming that Balaam was guilty of practising sorcery by the aid of demons; still less that he yielded himself to the prophetic inspiration of "the wicked one". Versed in all the learning of the age, he could advance his worldly interests by less degrading means; and though we may conceive of his exercising himself in those common and lesser arts of imposture that ordinarily pertained to the official station which he filled, it must not be forgotten that he was a professed worshipper of the Most High God; an advocate for true religion, though blended with some debasing associations; and a recipient of such prophetic communications from "the Father of Lights" as render it quite incompatible to suppose that he was also actually employed as a full-mouthed oracle of hell.

'It appears upon the face of the sacred records concerning Balaam, that he had been remarkably successful in his astrological predictions, magical artifices, and oracular declarations. And hence, such importance was attached to his malediction, that it was considered of force to ensure the destruction of a numerous and victorious people. Distance was deemed no sufficient barrier to the solicitation of his interference; no messengers were accounted too honourable to be employed as delegates to him; and no rewards of divination within the compass of royal liberality were thought ill-bestowed in endeavouring to secure the assistance of so potent an auxiliary.

'Such were doubtless the views entertained by Balak, king of Moab, when, in a paroxysm of political distress, he determined, if possible, by any means, to call in the aid of the Mesopotamian Soothsayer.'

pp. 50, 51.

Bishop Butler has a sermon upon the character of Balaam, which, although betraying the deficiencies of the learned Prelate's theological system, contains some excellent remarks and practical reflections. The explanation he gives of Balaam's conduct, is, that, on his arrival in the territory of Moab, 'he sought by sacrifices and enchantments to obtain leave of God to curse the people, keeping still his resolution not to do it without that permission; which not being able to obtain, he had such regard to the command of God, as to keep this resolution to the last. He wanted to do what he knew to be very wicked and contrary to the express command of God; he had inward checks and restraints which he could not entirely get over; he therefore casts about for ways to reconcile this wickedness with his duty . . .

‘ Balaam had before his eyes the authority of God, absolutely
‘ forbidding him what he, for the sake of a reward, had the
‘ strongest inclination to. He was likewise in a state of mind
‘ sober enough to consider death and his last end. By these con-
‘ siderations, he was restrained, first, from going to the king of
‘ Moab, and, after he did go, from cursing Israel. But notwithstand-
‘ ing this, there was great wickedness in his heart. He could not
‘ forego the rewards of unrighteousness. He therefore first seeks
‘ for indulgences; and when these could not be obtained, he sins
‘ against the whole meaning, end, and design of the prohibition,
‘ which no consideration in the world could prevail with him to
‘ go against the letter of. And surely that impious counsel he
‘ gave to Balak against the children of Israel, was, considered
‘ in itself, a greater piece of wickedness, than if he had cursed
‘ them in words. That consciousness of the wickedness of his
‘ heart must necessarily have destroyed all settled hopes of dying
‘ the death of the righteous: he could have no calm satisfaction
‘ in this view of his last end. Yet, on the other hand, it is pos-
‘ sible that those partial regards to his duty might keep him from
‘ perfect despair.’ Surprising as is the exhibition of infatuated
self-deceit and contradictory principles of action, it is, the Bishop
justly remarks, **no uncommon character.**

In times like the present, the full-length portrait of such an unhappy instance of gifts perverted and talents fatal to their possessor, is adapted to be peculiarly useful, in ‘moving the conscience by the reflection of its own image.’ We give the Author credit for having taken great and, upon the whole, successful pains, in the disposition of the historical drapery, and the topographical illustration which forms a sort of background to the portrait. On some few points, we might take occasion for exception. We cannot for a moment admit the construction which the Author puts upon Gen. xlv. 5, without either necessity or probability. In a very few other instances, we have not been entirely satisfied with the somewhat apocryphal embellishments or dubious comments; and the diction is occasionally tinged with a false glow, not in accordance with pure taste. But it is, altogether, a very pleasingly written and interesting volume, replete with information, and still more so with sound religious instruction. We transcribe the following additional extract as a suitable conclusion to the present article.

‘ We have been referring to the gifts by which Balaam was distinguished. Among these was one spiritual gift—that of inspiration . . . At another time, it might have been deemed superfluous to dwell particularly on this branch of the subject; but at a period when, in our own metropolis, instances are daily occurring of a zeal for the gifts of healing, speaking with tongues, interpreting, and casting out demons, far exceeding in fervor and unwearied effort, any thing that is put

forth in the same quarter, for the obtaining of "the best gifts," it ought not to be passed over in silence. By *the best gifts*, we understand, what it is believed the apostle Paul intended; namely, those lovely christian virtues, comprehended under the general head of "charity," and which he afterwards enumerated, and arranged in a tabular series, comprising a long-suffering, kind-hearted, unenvious, unostentatious, decorous, disinterested, meek, benevolent, discriminating, patient, candid, hope-inspiring, and persevering temper of mind. Here, then, are attainments to be coveted with unabating intensity of spirit; and infinitely preferable is it to possess one of the lowest, the most retiring, and the most passive of these graces, if it proceed from the Holy Spirit's influence upon the soul, than to prophesy like Balaam, or to work miracles like the Son of Iscariot. And wherefore do we thus judge? Is it that we lightly esteem any of the "diversities of operation," by which it hath pleased the Lord to manifest himself unto his church? Far be it. But those operations are to be observed in their *order*; to be honoured according to their *design*; and to be estimated in proportion to their respective *claims*. To return, then, to the question: wherefore do we thus judge, that gifts are so inferior to grace? Let "the law and the testimony" reply. What saith the Lord of prophecies? "They shall fail." What of tongues? "They shall cease." What of knowledge? "It shall vanish away." And what saith the same infallible oracle concerning charity? "Charity NEVER faileth." It is a dictate of wisdom, to prefer the good that has the stamp of perpetuity, to that which is but for a season; and, therefore, if we were, for argument's sake, to admit the false position, that prophecies and miracles have not ceased long ago, still, the present rage for that species of excitement which is connected with the opinion, would appear to us reprehensible in this point of view, that it gives paramount importance to a subject which, after all, is of inexpressibly inferior moment to those which it is permitted to supersede and throw into the shade.' pp. 243—245.

Art. III. *The Evidences of Christianity*. By Daniel Wilson.
2 Vols. 8vo. pp. xxxi. 550—xxvii. 643. Price 1l. 4s. London,
1829—1831.

IN the natural world, causes which, directly, are productive of evil, are found, in some of their results, to increase the good which they threatened to destroy. The salubrity of the atmosphere, the fertility of the earth, and the health of man, are promoted by means to which an observer unacquainted with their operations, and seeing them only in their first effects, would ascribe an influence exclusively pernicious or destructive. We might not wish the good to have such a connection, nor, because it is so connected, may we think less of the evil which precedes it, and from which it results; but the good itself is grateful to us; and if we can obtain it only as a consequence of what is in cha-

racter widely different from it, the circumstances from which it arises, will enhance in our estimation the benefits which we enjoy, and which it may be our endeavour to appreciate. Our civil liberties are to a great extent of this kind. Scarcely any of the blessings of national freedom can be viewed apart from the exactions and oppressions of abused power, and the sufferings of its injured victims. The liberty of Christian worship is secured to us as a right of conscience; but the iniquity of withholding it was not conceded, nor the exercise of it obtained, before intolerance had perpetrated its innumerable outrages and cruelties upon the unoffending advocates of the most righteous claims which, either for themselves or others, men can assert: and those outrages were means of giving effect to the claims. These are among the more remarkable examples which illustrate the principle, that agents of evil become eventually instruments of good. And among other instances which might be selected, we may not improperly refer to many facts which the perusal of such a work as the one now before us necessarily recalls to our remembrance. We owe the apologies of the early Christian writers to the calumnies of their adversaries, and the persecutions of their enemies; and to infidelity, we are indebted for no inconsiderable part of the numerous and invaluable defences of the Christian faith, which constitute so very important a branch of theological knowledge.

In what form, and to what extent, the evidences of Revelation might now have been in our hands, if, from the beginning, no opposition had been raised against it, it would be difficult to say. If the Christian faith had been transmitted to us, by those who have professed it, accompanied only with such testimonies as their acquaintance with it, and their appreciation of its principles and influence might have induced them to place on record, we should have been furnished with but little more, if indeed with any thing more, than what would consist in the possession of the books of the New Testament, and the impressions or effects of which we ourselves might be the subjects. If the progress of the Gospel had been free and undisturbed, the memorials which support its claims, would be sufficient to vouch for its credibility. The descent of the Evangelical writings would be traced to the age in which they originated. We should have possessed the copious stores of argument which are derived from the facts of the Gospel history, and their coincidences with the state of the world at the period to which they are referred. The testimonies of a long succession of Christian authors, connecting the faith of believers in our own times with the credence of the first disciples, would have been available for the same important purposes as those to which they are now applied. But, though, in these circumstances, the evidences of the Christian religion would have been

clear and satisfactory, the augmentation which they have received, both in respect to the substance and the details which they comprise, from the inquiries which have been instituted, in consequence of the hostilities commenced and continued against it, is such as to confirm, to elevate, and to enlarge our convictions of its truth. Every one who is familiar with the evidences of Christianity, must, in his enumeration of them, be prepared to assign a place of great distinction to that class of proofs which its adversaries have been the means of furnishing, by the examination, and by the answers to their objections, which their opposition has compelled and elicited. 'We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.' Its pretensions and its excellence are seldom known from its more common appearances; they are most evident to those who labour most in the discovery of them; and the investigations to which we owe our acquaintance with the minute and most beautiful forms of truth, have been undertaken by writers obeying the signal for its defence, when the partizans of error were observed to be joyous in the anticipation of success. It would be an endless task, to describe the occasions which have summoned Christian advocates to the defence of the truth of Revelation, as it would be to enumerate the productions which are to be found in the volumes of Christian literature in its vindication. Besides the direct utility of such works, in repelling the attacks and refuting the objections of the adversaries who called them forth, besides the advantages which we derive from them in respect to collateral topics, historical notices, the state of learning, and the progress of society, we are essentially aided by the materials which they have provided for our use, in the criticism and exposition of the sacred writings. While, therefore, we may deplore the hostility which unbelievers have directed against Revelation, we have more than a compensation for all the injuries inflicted by them, in the existing productions which defend it.

These very excellent discourses were delivered by the Author in the discharge of the duties of his ministry. Without advert- ing to the particular occasion which induced the preparation of them, and to which we are unable to perceive any parallel or resemblance in the evangelical history, we deem the reasons which he assigns for their publication both from the pulpit and the press, amply satisfactory. No one who is disposed to weigh them, will doubt of their sufficiency; and the validity of them must be conceded by every reader, as the importance of them must have been felt by the hearers to whom in the first instance they were addressed. It is unquestionably the primary duty of a Christian Instructor, to exert the strength of his influence in inducing the reception of the doctrines by which mankind are to be saved; and it is not difficult to conceive of the reception of them by persons who appreciate the importance of those doctrines from perceiving

their adaptation to their moral condition, to whom the historical evidence which accompanies them is but little known. Implicit belief, however, even of doctrines which are Divine, is not the disposition which a Christian pastor would prescribe to his flock, or encourage in those whom he addresses. Error has its deepest roots in prejudice, and may be venerated by the ignorant. But truth will release itself from the grasp of prejudice, and the light which it sends forth will dissipate the darkness which obscures the paths to knowledge. Why he believes, will be of interest to a Christian, as well as what he believes. To what extent he may be able to satisfy others in this respect, may depend on the qualifications of the inquirers as well as on his own; but for himself, he will be anxious to understand the reasons which give to his principles the superiority they possess over the systems that he rejects. To a certain extent, therefore, every Christian may be justly regarded as under obligation to study the evidences of Revelation; and to set them out with clearness and in order, is assuredly within the scope of the Christian minister's duty. As those evidences are of great compass and diversity, a portion only of them may supply to some minds the whole of the proofs which they are capable of comprehending, and these may constitute to them the ground of an enlightened confidence; but to others, the entire range will not be too ample a field for their investigation. The whole of the evidences are therefore very properly adduced by the Author. Volume first comprises the external, and the second Volume includes the internal evidences.

The entire course includes twenty-six Lectures on the following subjects. The first is 'Introductory', illustrating 1 Peter iii. 15; and assigns the reasons which induced the Author to commence and continue the series of Discourses. Lecture II. is on 'The temper of mind in which the subject should be studied.' III. The indispensable Necessity of a Divine Revelation shewn from the state of man in all ages. IV. The Authenticity of the New Testament. V. The direct proof of the authenticity of the New Testament. VI. Credibility of the Gospel History. VII. Miracles. VIII. Prophecy. IX. Fulfilment of prophecy. X. Propagation of Christianity. XI. Beneficial effects of Christianity. XII. Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. XIII. Review of the whole argument derived from the external evidences. XIV. Suitableness of Christianity to the state and wants of man. XV. The excellencies of the Doctrines of Christianity. XVI. Purity of the Christian Morals. XVII. Character and conduct of Christ. XVIII. Tendency of Christianity. XIX. Importance of a personal trial of Christianity. XX. Practical directions for its application. XXI. Objections considered. XXII. The Lives and Deaths of Infidels, compared with those of sincere Christians. XXIII. The Faith with which the

Christian Revelation is to be received. XXIV. The sound interpretation of the Records of Revelation. XXV. Obligations of men universally to obey this Revelation. XXVI. Concluding Lecture.

Many of the defences which have been offered to the world on behalf of Revelation, must be considered as imperfect vindications of its claims; and the evidences of Christianity in particular have been treated by too many writers in a very inadequate manner. So far as they have gone, we are not insensible to the services which they have rendered to the cause which has received their support; but we cannot take our leave of them without regretting that their discussions discover so great a want of the impress which a correct and full apprehension of the objects and design of the religion which they were upholding would have imparted to their statements and reasonings. It is not a little vexatious to accompany some writers through the long array of statements and arguments which their works in vindication of Christianity comprise, and to find that the high and solemn relations of its truth have been overlooked, or but faintly recognized. We accredit them for the acuteness and conclusiveness of their reasonings, and are left in admiration of the compass and accuracy of their learning; but they seem to have little thought of entitling themselves to our gratitude for higher services than a grammarian or a geometrician might claim. Mr. Wilson is altogether a different writer. He constantly feels the importance of the cause which he is advocating, is ever alive to the spiritual relations of the facts which he establishes, and never permits either himself or his readers to forget the interest which belongs to a volume which sets before mankind the "hope of eternal life". For every essential quality requisite to justify our ample and cheerful commendation, the Work before us is distinguished above many that we could name with no small praise. It is so comprehensive as to include every necessary topic. The mode of conducting the arguments and illustrations, is such as suited the occasion of their original delivery, and hence they appear in a popular form. The solicitude of the Author to render his instructions available to the promotion of the best interests of his hearers and readers, is very apparent; and the sincere and affectionate earnestness which pervades the work, much increases the value of it. For all persons who wish to possess a comprehensive view of the evidences of Christianity, ably displayed and soundly expounded, in a popular and practical form, we know not of any Discourses superior, or, we believe we may say, equal to the Volumes before us.

With many of the advocates of revealed religion, it has been usual to prepare the way for the exhibition of the evidences of Christianity, by adducing arguments to shew the necessity of Revelation, and by giving the marks which it would be proper to

expect in such revelation as might be communicated to mankind. Revelation, they say, is possible; it is probable; it is expedient and desirable. A Revelation, they add, should be accompanied with an apparatus of predictions and miracles; should confirm the truths of natural religion, supply its defects, clear up certain difficulties which attend our moral speculations; and may be gradually introduced, committed to writing, &c. All these and many other of the supposed characters and properties of Revelation may be seen in the old writers; nor have they been neglected by more recent ones. The propriety of this mode of proceeding, as well as the utility of it, seems to us to be very questionable. We immediately perceive that the imagined and assigned properties of the possible or probable revelation, are the properties of the revelation which has been given, and that they are borrowed from the history of the actual revelation and the volume which contains it. All such *à priori* modes of treating the subject are objectionable, because they never can assist us in our controversies with unbelievers, and because they assume that we are competent to prescribe the accompaniments and characters of such communication as God may be pleased to make to mankind; which we are not. Let us suppose that it was intimated to the world, being without a revelation, that the Creator intended to impart to his creatures, discoveries essential to their happiness; can it be thought that any of them would be prepared to assign the course which would be taken, and the manner in which the attestation should be given to the communication addressed to them? Miracles are a very proper mode of Divine attestation; but who could have prescribed them as a necessary one? Nor could it be, *à priori*, competent to any one to say, what particulars the revelation would contain, or by what evidence it should be confirmed. The Author of these Lectures has very wisely passed by these unsatisfactory discussions, and only conforms to the method generally adopted in the distribution of the topics comprehended in the argument of his book, by enlarging on 'The indispensable necessity of a Divine Revelation', arising from the ignorance and degeneracy of mankind. It is from the disclosures and remedies furnished by the revelation which has proceeded from the Divine Being, that we learn the state of men in regard to the wants and miseries which it relieves. Without the light which it supplies, we should be but very imperfectly acquainted with the depravity and wretchedness of human creatures. In establishing the claims and authority of Revelation, it is of importance to shew, that it is not a superfluous benefit, an unnecessary gift to men, or a dispensation not adapted to their real circumstances. In the provisions of the Gospel, we find nothing foreign or unrelated to the true interests of mankind; nothing to which

some error or evil in them is not found to correspond. When we have learned its design, and see its adaptations, we can then determine the questions which are suggested to us, as the moral condition of the species, in the state in which they exist apart from the impressions and advantages of revealed religion, is brought under our examination. In this examination, we must look not only to the moral practice of mankind, but to the principles of religion which were current among them.

There was once a book published with the title, 'Christianity as old as the Creation', which assumed the sufficiency of natural religion to guide mankind; and that the assumption might not be wanting in boldness, the light of this instructor and monitor, was asserted to be at once clear and perfect. Natural religion, it must be granted, does much for man, if it teach unequivocally the existence and attributes of God, the essentials of true worship, that God will pardon the sins of men upon repentance, and that there is a future state in which the good will be rewarded, and the bad will be punished. But who are the disciples that receive this illumination? Who are the *propagandists* of these rational doctrines? It is quite proper to ask, as the Lecturer does,

'But whence did these truths break in upon men in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, except from the habitual exhibition of them by the Christian revelation, and by the Christian revelation exclusively,—all the wisest heathen philosophers having failed to discover one of these truths during the lapse of ages? How came it to pass that Socrates and Plato and Aristotle wandered in total darkness about every one of them? How came it to pass that these principles were first taught by persons educated in the Christian religion, taught these truths in the greatest purity, and in conjunction with many others, by the lips of the Christian ministry, and trained up in all the habits and usages of a Christian community? Had these doctrines been wrought out by the study of some heathen philosopher of Northern Europe or distant Asia, some recluse in the deserts of Africa or the back settlements of the Western Continent, who had never heard of the Christian faith, an argument might be drawn from the fact; but the claims of men living under the meridian sun of Christianity, and of reformed Christianity, (for it was not till after the Reformation that Deists were known,) can never for a moment be admitted. As well might a foreigner residing amongst the inventions of the arts in England, seize on our brightest discoveries, and claim them as his own. The fact is perfectly intelligible; the notions of modern unbelievers are no more than the twilight of revelation after the sun of it has been set in their apostacy from God. Christianity has shamed away the grosser errors and vices of heathenism; and the unbeliever borrows now some of the revealed doctrines, in order to gain an audience amongst mankind. There is no proof that any one individual in any age or nation ever dis-

covered any one of these principles, except as enlightened by Christianity.' Vol. I. pp. 72, 73.

The creed of modern Unbelievers, on a comparison with the theology of the philosophical leaders of antiquity, discloses some striking peculiarities, and illustrates very effectually the argument of the preceding paragraph. Why do we not find the Deists of our own times celebrating the ancient rites, attending sacrifices, pouring out libations, and calling each one upon his God? They build not temples to either the *Dii majorum gentium*, or the *Dii minorum gentium*: they have neither *Penates* nor *Lares*. The Eleusinian Ceres stands in the vestibule of Cambridge University Library, but the goddess has now no worshippers. It may seem strange that the light of nature should, in the later ages of the world, lead men to neglect the objects of worship which it led those who existed in the early times to venerate. The fact is plain, that a revolution has taken place in the views and practice of the natural-religionists; but how is this to be accounted for? Precisely as Mr. Wilson suggests. In one respect, the difference between ancient and modern natural religion is very remarkable. The basis of the old heathen theology was the principle of justice. Men were offenders; the gods were angry; the human conscience was awed by terrors; and propitiatory sacrifices were the means by which man at once confessed his sin, and sought to avert its punishment. In the modern creed, the Deity is pure benevolence; and the variations which Deism includes, are only modifications of goodness, not tempered with any infusions of a righteous retribution as the rule of the Divine government. The former system may be very like the construction of reason devising methods of relief, in reference to evils which were confessed and feared. But whence originated the latter? If, in these later ages of the world, only the same methods of discovering truth by which the ancient masters of philosophy attempted to penetrate its recesses, and in which they so signally failed, have been tried by their successors, how are we to account for the essential difference of the results? Have the latter more genius than the former? Are they more laborious in their study of phenomena? Does nature present herself to them to express herself in terms which she never previously uttered? Or do the moral aspects of the world furnish them with superior advantages, from which to deduce conclusions establishing the clemency of the Supreme Ruler, so as to be the ground of confidence to man, that, on his repentance, he shall receive forgiveness, and become the object of his Creator's favour? What changes in the modes of instruction, what improvements in the lessons of natural religion, are we to assume, as sufficient to explain the substitution of benevolence, in the modern systems, for the justice which forms the

basis of the ancient ones? We assign the influence of the merciful economy published by the Gospel as the *vera causa* of the difference; and perceive no way of escaping from the conclusion, that modern Deism, unassisted by the lights of Revelation, would be found constructing the same hypotheses, and wearying itself with the same abortive speculations, as those which give so melancholy a character to the ancient heathen theology.

The interposition of the Deity, '*whom no man hath seen or can see,*' to instruct mankind, to hold actual intercourse with individuals of them, to communicate to them the knowledge of futurity and the principles of religious and moral truth, to intermit and to resume the communications, to do what revelation imports he has done, by manifesting himself in successive periods to some distinguished persons,—is, we believe, a subject of great difficulty to many minds. It is the subject which first occurs to their thoughts, on being invited to the investigation of the Christian evidences. It perplexes their understandings, to conceive of the fact itself; and the assignable modes of the intercourse bewilder their imaginations. But, in this hesitation, there is much of the influence of that primary cause of error, which refers to our own experience the solution of questions requiring a very different trial. Revelation, being miraculous, imports essentially to be limited to select individuals as the medium of its more extended utility; since it is obvious, that the admission of all persons to its immediate illuminations, would reduce it to the common course of nature. With respect, then, to the question of supernatural communication, its possibility must be at once conceded; and its congruity with the intelligence presiding over the world, and with the reasonable creatures who are governed by it, is easily apprehended. It involves no contradiction. In producing a rational creation, the Creator must have had reasonable ends, and the communication of his will to them could not be unreasonable. But there is no more difficulty in assuming subsequent communications, than there is in admitting the first of them. The only proper subject of examination is the fact, that a conveyance of religious knowledge purporting to be a revelation from God, exists; and this fact, like all facts, can be determined, in respect of the truth of it, only by the testimonies which support it. The New Testament relates, that Jesus, the Messiah, appeared in Judea, publishing doctrines which he affirmed were given to him immediately from heaven, wrought miracles publicly and frequently, and of various kinds, in attestation of his claims, and predicted future events;—that he was crucified, rose from the dead, according to his own announcement, conferred extraordinary powers on some of his followers, and charged them with the propagation of his doctrines;—and that he ascended into heaven in their presence. Is the New Testament which contains the relation of these circumstances, to be credited,

and are the facts to be believed? We must proceed with this inquiry in the same manner as we attempt to settle all historical questions. If we credit the books of the New Testament, we must believe the facts which it relates, just as we credit the Commentaries of Cæsar, and believe the events of his Gallic wars. On what ground do we receive the Commentaries of the Gallic wars as the writings of the Roman General? We never saw him at the head of his legions, or employed in recording his marches and his battles. We are separated from his times by many hundreds of years. Why then do we ascribe to him the authorship of the Commentaries? That he did write them, is a fact so well established that no one doubts it. But why is it believed? Because a chain of testimonies conducts us, link by link, to the credit which they received from his contemporaries as his own production. Who doubts the authenticity (that is the fact of Authorship) of Burnet's History of his Own Time? No one. But whence this universal agreement? By a chain of the like kind, but of fewer links, we reach the time and circumstances of its publication. So we prove the authenticity of the Books of the New Testament: and this proof is the first part of the process which the Christian inquirer will institute. Mr. Wilson's fourth and fifth Lectures are occupied with the proofs of the Authenticity of the New Testament. He has treated it copiously and minutely, not omitting any of the topics which are necessary or relevant to it, and skilfully combining the detached particulars into an irresistible array of testimony. The following summary of the contents of these two Lectures, will shew the fulness of the evidences adduced by the Author.

‘It had been shewn generally, that the genuineness of our books is supported by the same kind of arguments as men constantly employ on all similar occasions—that not one mark of spuriousness appears in our divine books—that it was morally impossible, from the circumstances of the case, that they could be forged—that men are continually admitting ancient books on the slightest external evidence—and that every external and internal proof unites to satisfy a reasonable and candid enquirer of the truth of the New Testament.

‘These general observations have been now established by actually tracing out the transmission of our books—by noticing the progress of the settlement of the Canon—by observing in all the specimens of the testimonies of Christian writers, the utmost sincerity—by weighing the admission of heathen adversaries and heretics—by running up our numerous ancient manuscripts now extant, to the manuscripts of Jerome, and to the autographs, or immediate copies of autographs, in the hands of Tertullian—by considering that the Apocryphal books want every one of these marks of authenticity, and are branded with every criterion of spuriousness—by adverting to the style and manner of the sacred penmen, and to the unexpected confirmations which are continually arising from the most extraordinary quarters—and by

observing, finally, that our sacred volume stands unparalleled in the history of the world.' Vol. I. pp. 165, 166.

The proof of the authenticity of a document is independent of its contents. The inquiry may be conducted by a person who is entirely unacquainted with its import, and to whom its uses are unknown. In satisfactorily determining the genuineness of a book, we only trace it to its author, and the time of its original publication. We may then have other purposes to answer by continuing our examination, which will require us to be acquainted with its contents. Such is the question of Credibility; and in relation to this subject, we inquire into the truth of the facts contained in the record. Is the New Testament 'worthy of all acceptance' on account of the fidelity of its historical narratives? The New Testament is a written work, transmitted to us in the manner in which all literary productions of remote times have been conveyed to our own age. By whatever modes the credibility of such works is ascertained, the same must be applied to the Gospels. The works themselves may assist us in the inquiry, and proofs may be obtained from external sources. The character of the writers, and the complexion of their narratives, are internally supplied; and the testimonies which are to be collected from other writers and monuments, complete our materials for the investigation of the credibility of the authors. The writers of the New Testament are historians of contemporaneous facts, and their manner of describing them is altogether remarkable for simplicity, and for the presumption of truth which the most perfect integrity supplies. In reading Evelyn's Memoirs, we never find a distrust of his veracity, or of the truth of the facts which he records, rising in our minds. He describes the great fire of London, of which he was an eye-witness; and, if we wished so to do, we might substantiate the credibility of his narrative by the testimony of others. But such are our impressions from the evidence which his own work furnishes, that we assent without hesitation to his statements; and we should do so, in respect to the preceding fact, if all history were silent in reference to it. Such are the impressions produced by the inspired writers. It has been objected to the evangelical records, that more notice would have been taken by contemporary writers of the extraordinary facts which they detail, if they were indeed true. This objection is more specious than real; for, the more we reflect on the design and character of those writers, on their prejudices, their connections, their circumstances, the less shall we be surprised that so little is said by them. But the real importance of the question relative to them, is the fact of total omission, or of reference to the transactions. The affirmation is, that Christianity originated in Judea, in the time of the Roman emperor Tiberius; and Tacitus states, that the Christians had their name from Christ, who suffered death in the reign of

Tiberius, under his procurator, Pontius Pilate. We might be gratified with more testimonies of a similar description, and with more copious and minute accounts. But such a testimony is an invaluable voucher; nor is it the only one available in support of the evangelical history.

The argument from prophecy is discussed at considerable length in the eighth and ninth Lectures, and is ably treated by the Author. In these Discourses, we find ourselves interested and instructed by the successive particulars adduced, and always impressed by the grave and persuasive manner of the Lecturer. Prophecy has been a favourite subject for the lips and the pens of some men of high pretensions, who will, we hope, live long enough to see the vanity of their interpretations, and the extravagance of the folly which they have allowed to supersede the guidance of the wisdom that would have led them in right paths. From their rash conjectures and frensied glosses, the oracles of truth will be purified; and by their failures and their follies, useful lessons will be conveyed to as many of their followers as may be undeceived, and induced to study the Bible with the sober and hallowed devotion which it claims. A Christian is doing well, who looks to the events of the times which are passing over him, with the light of revelation to aid his contemplations; and he may, by such employment, be strengthened in his belief of the Divine administration; but it is not for him to know "the times and the seasons which the Father has put in his own power." Fulfilled prophecy alone can avail us in proving the truth of Scripture and the Divine origin of its doctrines, because that alone can enable us to see the verification of the remote announcements. Such considerations as the following, are more valuable than entire volumes of modern vaticinatory expositions.

'—And, surely, the preservation of the Jews as a distinct people, notwithstanding their dispersion for seventeen hundred years, is a remarkable and altogether unparalleled proof of our Lord's predictions. It is not only an event in fulfilment of prophecy, but an event involving a supernatural agency; an event contrary to the uniform course of human affairs; an event, in which there is a permanent suspension of all the laws of our social being. That they should continue for so many ages scattered and dispersed, pursued and reviled, oppressed and persecuted; yet, neither worn out by this usage, nor induced by it to renounce their religion;—that neither time nor sufferings nor custom should overcome their attachment to it; but that they should still subsist, a numerous, a distinct, a wretched people, the librarians of the very prophecies which condemn them, and the unconscious witnesses, wherever they rove, of the truth of the Scriptures; has something in it so prodigious, as to conclude and shut up the proof of prophetic inspiration. And, when connected with our Lord's repeated prediction of the very judicial blindness under which we behold them suffering, it constitutes an irresistible evidence of the truth of Christianity.

‘The whole of this series of prophecies, indeed, as to the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews, is so broad and unambiguous in its main features, so numerous and distinct in its details, so minute in many of its parts, combines events so utterly improbable when it was delivered, is so defined as to the time of its accomplishment, was fulfilled by persons so unlikely to concur in such transactions, is connected with so many events now fulfilling in the world, looked back to so many prophecies of the Old Testament, and looked forward to so many ages of modern history, during which it has continued to receive its accomplishment,—and is so incontestably confirmed by the very attempts made to defeat it, and especially by the mysterious, and, except on the truth of the hypothesis of the Scriptures, the unaccountable state of the Jews before our eyes in the present day,—as to constitute altogether an evidence which has never failed to overwhelm with conviction the mind of every sincere and candid enquirer: it raises the argument in favour of Christianity to the highest point of moral demonstration. It can be explained away by no fortuitous circumstances; it admits of no evasion; it stands forth a palpable, bold, unequivocal monument of the prescience of our Lord, and of the truth of the Christian religion.’ Vol. I. pp. 342—344.

The accumulated and diversified testimonies which sustain the Christian religion, are sufficient to commend to our acceptance any work or any fact whatever; and therefore, they must establish the credibility of the New Testament. It would, in every other case, but that of admitting the truth of the gospel, be regarded as utterly absurd, the highest advance which irrationality could reach, for any person having before him a proposition so supported as is that which affirms the truth of Christ’s religion, or any fact so substantiated by proof as are the facts which are coincident with its origin and early progress, to assert his disbelief of it. We should take testimonies very inferior to the actual ones; we should admit them if fewer, if less powerful; in quantity and quality, we should allow them to be produced far below the amount and value of the evidences which make up so great a part of the proof of Christianity; and whatever fact or proposition they might be used to uphold, we should assent to its reality. It would not be necessary for us to examine, or even so much as know, the import of the proposition, or the relations of the fact so sustained, in order to our reception of its truth: but the nature of the proposition, or the bearings of the fact, might be of great moment in reference to our pleasure and our satisfaction, when convinced by the testimonies which we had examined. So, the nature and tendencies of the religion which the New Testament exhibits, are of great importance in the consideration of its claims. They are a valuable, and even necessary part of the argument, which a well-instructed advocate would employ, in confirmation of his primary witnesses. As the examination of the external testimonies must precede the knowledge of the in-

ternal evidences, the documents which comprise the religion must be admitted, before the design of it can be fully understood. The inquirer would be reduced to a state of great perplexity, if, on learning the nature of the religion, he should find its tendencies in opposition to the beneficent course which he would be able, in part at least, from his acquaintance with the moral wants of mankind, to expect it would take. The inquirer whose attention has been given to the New Testament, and whose examination of its external evidences has commanded his unhesitating admission of its credibility, can have no doubt to impair its full effect upon his mind, arising from its internal character. The whole of its tendencies are beneficial. It is not only calculated to promote the advantage of human creatures, but it has evidently no other aim than a good one in respect to them. It is wholly constructed for their benefit, and is directing its influence toward the accomplishment of objects that include the highest interests of the species.

Mr. Wilson's eighth Lecture treats of this subject, the tendencies of Christianity; and fully establishes its excellence on the ground of its superior adaptation to promote human happiness, the entire good of man, 'the highest temporal and spiritual welfare of individuals and nations.' It is to be remarked, in reference to this discussion, that the New Testament comprises no system of civil legislation. Whatever its tendencies may be, the influence of Christianity is exerted personally, and acts on the social system, by the preparation which it gives to individuals to qualify them for the relations which they sustain in the community. It is not strictly in accordance with the justice of the case, or with the soundness of the argument, to ask, as the Author does, p. 188, 'What are oaths without Christianity as their basis?' It is obvious, that oaths are held sacred by many who do not profess Christianity. We should not claim as one of the exclusive advantages of Christianity, the sanctity which renders an oath valid, nor maintain, that truth could be elicited only by the force of Christian solemnities. The tendency of Christian principles is, no doubt, to ensure the most sacred and inviolable regard to truth; but it would be assuming too much to assert, that only by means of Christian oaths could the administration of justice be safe and efficient. But there is another passage in this Lecture, which still more largely shews the importance of discussing the tendencies of Christianity apart from the bias of political associations, and of viewing them in immediate relation to its principles. If the tendencies of principles be innate, and be uniformly of good direction, and the scope in which they actually operate be limited, the real effects being but few, it must naturally be supposed, that the limitation of the advantages is the consequence of some counteracting cause. Mr. Wilson notices

at p. 190, 'The hinderances which impede the full effects of the 'Christian religion.'

'Are they not the hostility of some, and the neglect of others? Is not the enmity of the human heart to the main doctrines and precepts of Revelation, a principal barrier against its progress? Does not also indifference and apathy to these peculiarities, disincline man from entertaining the religion? Besides these obstacles, do not the vices of its false adherents, and the crimes and hypocrisy of its pretended friends, form another formidable impediment,—to which must be added, the various imperfections and errors of sincere Christians themselves? Then take in the more public obstacles presented by corruptions of the Christian doctrines introduced into churches,—the contagion of heresy,—the vices and unfaithfulness of many of the ministers and professed teachers of Christianity; to say nothing of the apostacies in the East and West, which have left little of Christianity in those quarters, except the name. The persecutions directed, from time to time, against the sincere disciples of the religion, must be added; as well as the fearful neglect, with regard to religious influence, of which princes and legislators have too frequently been guilty. Then the judicial infatuation permitted by Almighty God, in punishment of infidelity and obstinate resistance to duty, must be considered. And, lastly, the great spiritual adversary, who either *deceiveth the nations*; or *walketh about, as a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour*.'

Unquestionably, these are among the causes which have impeded the advancement of 'pure religion', and which have checked and counteracted very powerfully and extensively its beneficent tendencies. But there are omissions in this enumeration of hinderances, copious as it is; and we should probably not find ourselves in agreement with the Author, in the mode of understanding and explaining some of those which he mentions. What is that fearful neglect, with regard to religious influence, of which princes and legislators have too frequently been guilty? Christianity, Mr. Wilson describes as 'a practical thing', and which 'therefore can only have its proper seat in the individual.' Is it, then, of princes and legislators who were truly subjects of the religion, in the sense, and with all the essentials which Mr. Wilson includes in his notion of the Christian faith, that he is speaking; or is it only to princes and legislators, apart from personal considerations, that he is attributing 'fearful neglect'? But if the latter, can he imagine that they who are void of the religion, who are sensible to nothing of its design or consequences, whose understandings have none of its light, and whose hearts feel none of its power, should do otherwise than neglect it? Would he have the tendencies of religion to be seen in those who have no religion? Mr. Wilson would not say of persons who were not impelled to the obedience which a Christian owes to God, by the power of the invisible and spiritual objects which a

Christian's faith apprehends, that we should look to them for examples of the influence of religion. But, while they are of this character, what difference can their station or their name possibly make? Bolingbroke was a legislator and a minister of state; but what would it be short of folly to expect from a haughty infidel, the humble and holy graces which spring from the belief of the Gospel? and what but the last of mockeries could it be, to ascribe to the author of the Schism Bill, an identity of interest or feeling with the religion of the New Testament? Charles the Second was a bad prince and a profligate, though designated 'our 'most religious king': religious influence was quite remote from the personal habits and conduct of that royal patron of vice. He may be charged with the neglect of religion, and with more than this, with the contempt of religion; but, as religion is a practical thing, and can only have its proper seat in the individual, the influence of it is not to be looked for, where the principles of it do not exist. How, then, are we to understand the allegation, that princes and legislators have too frequently been guilty of fearfully neglecting religion? We are able to understand it in no other sense, than that persons in these high stations have been without religion. Is another meaning intended to be conveyed, and are we to construe the Author's language as importing, that princes and legislators have neglected to employ political power and instruments to support the dogmas and customs of a national religion? But, if they did not believe the religion, why should they have supported it in any form? And if they did believe it, the only proper manifestation of its influence would have been seen in the effects which its principles would have personally produced in them, apart from all coercive measures. Princes and legislators have figured much more as intolerant and persecuting, than as practically religious in their character and proceedings.

Among the hinderances, then, which have impeded the progress of the Christian religion, and which have been a prime cause of its obscurations and depressions, we cannot but reckon the secular alliances which have been so extensively associated with the external profession of it. It is neither to be concealed nor disguised, that the worst of evils, pride in the most disgusting and haughtiest of its bearings, the spirit of the world in its most sordid inclinations, and cruelties bitter and remorseless, have, in secular priesthoods, patronized and abetted by princes and legislators, contrasted with the meekness, the purity, and the charity of Christian churches and Christian teachers. Mr. Wilson truly remarks of the hinderances which he enumerates, that 'they do not arise from the Gospel itself; that they do not belong to 'Christianity.' Nor are the secularities which we assign as inimical to the true religion, any part of Christianity. Who that reads the Gospels, and forms his notion of the religion of Jesus

from the New Testament alone, could ever imagine the hierarchy of a national church to be such a ministry as it describes, or that its appointments and laws have any connexions or ends in common with the primitive Christian institutions? The latter are related to the religion, simply as means of promoting it, and they are invariably and exclusively in harmony with its spiritual character. If men learn any thing of the nature of the Christian faith, they know that it is not a system for the aggrandizement of its teachers, and their elevation to temporal power. They can perceive nothing of intention on the part of its Author, to give it incorporation with political governments, to make civil sovereigns the head of the Church, and to invest its pastors with the character and symbols of political legislators. It cannot, then, be supposed, that institutions which are founded in opposition to those of the Gospel, can tend to advance it. It is unreasonable and preposterous to expect, that institutions which are secular in their spirit and character, and which subvert the order of means essentially connected by the will of its Author with the whole economy of the Christian religion, can advance its interests. Accordingly, we shall find the power and influence of secular churches exerted against the diffusion of knowledge, and the liberty of conscience indispensable to the examination of proposed doctrines, to the rejection of error, and the reception of the truth;—we shall find a constant resistance, in their supporters, to the means by which ignorance and superstition are opposed, and the most vigorous determination to uphold the established forms and dogmas. In some instances, happily for mankind, the power of these bodies is diminished, and their spirit controlled; but the change is to be attributed, where these impaired energies are most observable, to innovations which were denounced as false and wicked, and the authors of which were punished as public disturbers, and which acquired by slow degrees the strength with which they pressed successfully against the despotisms that would have crushed them. Who will deny the decline of Church power, and the consequent extension of religious knowledge in this country, to be the result of proceedings to which the Church itself was averse? But where the political ascendancy still guards the exclusive pretensions of the Church, and invests her with supreme authority, we see hinderances to the Christian religion in number and in force sufficient to confirm us in our belief, that state religions, whatever be the profession, are connected with ends which true religion renounces; and that, as the Author of Christianity has provided, in its simple institutions and the spiritual power which accompanies it, for its preservation and extension, so, the impediments to its progress, can only be overcome by their introduction and prevalence. All secularities, all political alliances, all exclusive and excluding polities, are anti-Christian, and must cease to be known

when men shall be awakened and excited to the inquiries which fix their attention on the primary objects and true uses of a divine religion, and feel the powers of the world to come.

We have noticed the superior claims which these volumes present for our approbation, in the distinguished manner in which the Author treats of the uses of the religion of the New Testament. Such sentiments as the following pervade the work; and we extract the passage which contains them, as indicating the spirit in which the writer directs application of his arguments: it occurs in the Lecture on the trial of Christianity from experience.

‘What, we ask, is there in these internal perceptions of life and consolation and strength, derived from the doctrines of Christianity, which should **EXCITE OUR ASTONISHMENT**? Would not the wonder be, if there were no such feelings, no such inward witness to the soul? What! are there excellencies in human knowledge, and shall there be none in divine? What! is an intelligent, well-educated man allowed to have powers of expression, and means of exciting our surprise and pleasure, beyond those of a child, and shall not the language of apostles and prophets, and the discoveries concerning God and the soul and eternity, be admitted to awaken emotions beyond the mere trifles of human knowledge and instruction! What! are men of uncommon endowments, as Bacon, Pascal, Newton, allowed to rise above those of ordinary talents, and are they expected to take wider views, and make more important communications, and excite warmer feelings of wonder, admiration, gratitude; and shall not the great and infinite God be allowed to surpass all the petty communications of man, in the mysteries of his will, in the importance of his commands, in the depths of his mercy, and in the correspondent emotions of fear, love, faith, hope, grateful joy, affiance, awakened in the heart? What! do we allow that in the displays of glory and beauty in the works of creation, the natural perfections of God may be contemplated and known, and become to the pious and duly prepared mind, the sources of internal peace, thanksgiving, prayer, admiration, obedience, resignation; and shall we not admit, that men may see the moral perfections of God in the Gospel?—Shall all his mercy and wisdom and infinite contrivance in redemption have no effect upon the soul?—Shall the stupendous fact of the incarnation be received with a tame indifference? What! do men allow that tidings of joy and deliverance in human things should call up proportionate affections; and that he would be thought a monster of ingratitude, who should receive with apathy the news of an immense act of royal clemency extended to him when condemned to death; and shall we not allow that the glorious and unexpected tidings of redemption from eternal death, should awaken all the gratitude of the soul? Shall not pardon and life and adoption and the hope of heaven, overwhelm the heart with some correspondent perceptions and emotions?

‘Yes, it is most reasonable, that if there be such a thing as a Revelation from the great God, comprising such amazing discoveries as the Gospel, affecting such all-important interests, promising such mighty aids of the Holy Spirit, laying down such grounds of faith and love and

hope in Christ Jesus, delivering man from such complicated misery, and exalting him to such heights of holy peace and joy—it is most reasonable, that there should be such a thing as perceiving the excellency and glory of it, as feeling its efficacy, as having an inward witness of its fulfilment and operations in our own breasts. There is nothing to astonish us in such effects: the matter of astonishment would be, if Christianity did not assert, and Christians not experience them.'

Vol. II. pp. 246—248.

The unreasonableness of infidelity has often been shewn, and yet it has its abettors. And so, we apprehend, it will have, till the means of supporting and extending Christian truth shall be better understood, and more correctly employed by those who profess it. It is of the utmost importance, that men should learn to look on the Christian religion in its own native colours; not to form erroneous notions of it, by deriving them through the medium of secular and corrupt institutions, or the irregular and inconsistent exhibitions of too many who hold the truth in unrighteousness, or are ignorant of its living principles. But the unreasonableness of infidelity, and the wisdom of true religion, are in contrast with each other.

'The credulity of unbelief is the most extraordinary of all phenomena in the moral world. It can repose on mere speculative objections, in the teeth of history and experience; and yet it can believe all the absurdities and impossibilities which the consequences of rejecting Revelation bring with them! It can reject all the mighty credentials of Revelation, on the footing of imaginary difficulties; and yet it can believe that Christianity had no founder, no origin, no cause, no author—but was the product of chance and accident!

'No! such objections prove the truth of the religion which they impugn; such reasonings go to confirm the evidences they would destroy. The weapons of unbelief are thus wrested from its feeble grasp, and are turned against itself. Our foes fall by their own arms. Infidelity cannot stand, if left to its own cause. Its suicidal hand inflicts the mortal blow. Never was there such a case as that of infidelity exhibited before the eyes of mankind. Let the young and candid inquirer judge.

'Christianity comes forth surrounded with facts, historical proofs, a series of prophecies fulfilling before the eyes of mankind, a supernatural propagation and preservation of the Gospel in the world, prominent and obvious good effects as to every thing that touches human happiness: Infidelity comes forth with petty objections, speculative reasonings, vain imaginations. Christianity invites you to believe on far stronger grounds of faith than men are governed by every day: Infidelity tempts you to disbelieve on grounds which no single human being ever acted upon in common life. Christianity draws her arguments not from human reasonings, but from God, from facts, from experience, from the plainest dictates of moral duty, from proofs tangible and level to our capacity of judging: Infidelity draws her objections from the corrupt heart of man, from theory, from conjecture, from the

plainest contradictions to common sense, from reasonings out of our reach and beyond our capacities. Christianity calls on us to obey her Revelation, as the remedy of our maladies, and a stupendous salvation from eternal death; and makes all her discoveries and mysteries intelligible and simple in respect to our duties and wants: Infidelity calls us to speculation and presumption; denies the malady; concerns herself with finding fault with the mysteries which she will not apply aright; and leaves man without salvation, without guidance, without consolation, without hope—a wanderer in the wilderness of the world?’

Vol. II. pp. 355—357.

The remarks of the Lecturer on the ‘Interpretation of Scripture,’ are in his usual serious and impressive manner, and are particularly deserving of distinct notice for the sobriety and soundness of principle which they exhibit. We are much gratified with the opportunity afforded to us by this portion of the work, to record the Author’s sentiments in opposition to the erroneous system which has found so many patrons, and from which we should be glad to see others preserved.

—‘The mischiefs arising from Origen’s fanciful scheme of old; the errors of Cocceius, in modern times; the forcible application of every part and portion of the Psalms to the Messiah, and the eagerness to find out what is called a spiritual sense, in opposition to the literal meaning of God’s word; have all their origin in a discontent with the proportion in which the mysteries of Scripture are found in that divine book, and in the wild notion of imposing unheard of, and new, and remote, and unnatural senses upon the plainest narratives or most devotional parts of the divine Records. The effect is to take away all meaning from the whole Bible, to open the door for every extravagance, and to destroy that fine and beautiful variety which now characterizes the inspired book of God.’ Vol. II. p. 512.

We should not do justice to these excellent volumes, nor satisfy our feeling of concern for the best interests of our readers, if we closed our review of these ‘Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity,’ without strongly recommending them for family reading. Christian parents and guardians will do well to avail themselves of the assistance so ably and admirably provided for them by the work before us. As both an instructive and most seasonable publication, it is entitled to our warmest praise.

Art. IV. *Tour in England, Ireland, and France, in the years 1828 and 1829: with Remarks on the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, and Anecdotes of distinguished public Characters. In a Series of Letters. By a German Prince. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. xxii. 662. Price 18s. London, 1832.*

A GERMAN critic (Göthe) thus speaks of these Letters of a German Prince. ‘The peculiarities of English manners and habits are drawn vividly and distinctly, and without exag-

'geration. We acquire a lively idea of that wonderful combination,—that luxuriant growth,—of that insular life which is based in boundless wealth and civil freedom, in universal monotony and manifold diversity; formal and capricious, active and torpid, energetic and dull, comfortable and tedious, the envy and derision of the world.' Such is the moral enigma which 'the English form of existence' presents to the philosophic sentimentalist of Germany. The description is not very distinct or profound; and we might say to the critic, as the Americans are continually telling Englishmen, You do not understand us. It is not what we are, however, but what we appear, that we must expect to learn from the observations of foreign visitors; and for even their mistakes, we ought to hold ourselves at least in part answerable. It is worth while to learn 'how it strikes a stranger.' And from the blunders of foreigners, as well as from what may seem disparaging remarks or illiberal inferences, we may infer the high probability that similar mistakes will be committed by our own travellers and writers, in estimating and describing the manners and characteristics of other nations.

This is, perhaps, the chief use to be made of a slight, gossiping Sir John Carr-sort of a work like the present. Criticism or controversy would be quite misplaced and thrown away, in noticing its contents. Prince Pückler-Muskau is in all respects a free-thinker, an *ultra*-liberal. His right to hold and vent his opinions, correct or incorrect, profound or ridiculous, we do not presume to call in question. Nor are we at all alarmed as to the effect of the profane witticisms scattered through the letters, upon any reader who has the slightest reverence for religion, or any spark of correct moral feeling. There is nothing seductive in the vulgar impiety even of a Prince, which indeed differs but little from the ignorant profaneness of the lowest Radical. At the same time, we cannot forbear remarking, that the Translator would have exercised a laudable discretion, had he suppressed the running episode of dull, burlesque lucubrations, which is allowed every now and then to break, and is apparently designed to relieve, the travelling narrative. The pointless ridicule aimed at the 'Berlin Saints,' and the ignorant scoffs at the New Testament and Bible Societies, can scarcely be acceptable to any class of intelligent readers in this country; and the insight they give us into the character of the German Prince, is but little to his advantage. At the same time, these things are not quite so inexcusable in a foreigner, as in one who has enjoyed, from his youth, the full light of religious knowledge which shines upon our own favoured land; and we are on this ground disposed to pass over in silence the grossly objectionable parts of these volumes to which we allude.

The tour described in the present portion of the work, com-

mences with the Writer's departure from London for Cheltenham. The account of his previous sojourn in the metropolis, is reserved for a sequel, in case these volumes meet with approbation. The most pleasing feature of the Letters, certainly, is the vivid description of the beauties of nature, which seem to call forth the Writer's best powers of thought and expression, and to excite an unaffected enthusiasm. The last thing, perhaps, of which Englishmen are proud, is the rich combination and variety of scenic beauty in their own Islands, which excites the admiration of foreigners, but upon which they fastidiously turn their backs, to seek for the picturesque on the banks of the Rhine or of the Arno. The German Prince was transported with the delights of English travelling. The first part of his route from London to Cheltenham, he describes as teeming 'with all the luxuriant vegetation of the most beautiful park; the next presented boundless corn-fields without hedges,—a rarity in England; and the last nearly resembled the rich plains of Lombardy.' Cheltenham itself exhibited 'an elegance no where to be found on the Continent.' The country beyond, the vale of the Avon, appeared most lovely,—'the near ground full of soft meadows and deep, green clumps of trees; the horizon bounded by the mountains, which at every mile grew in magnitude and distinctness of outline;' and at every stage, he passed a considerable town, which was never without its towering Gothic church. The unequivocal signs of national wealth, and the sight of a numerous population, far superior, at least in their outward condition, to the lower classes of other countries,—the luxuries which among us are looked upon as necessities, and which are diffused among all classes,—'the combination of the useful with the beautiful,' of the arts of civilization in their perfection with the mild beauties of the English landscape,—these form a tout-ensemble which the traveller in other countries may seek for in vain.

But Wales has distinct attractions of its own; and the Vale of Llangollen struck our Author as 'far surpassing all the beauties of the Rhine-land,' while it derives a very specific and peculiar character from the unusual forms of the peaked tops and rugged declivities of its mountains.

'The Dee, a rapid stream, winds through the green valley in a thousand fantastic bendings overhung with thick underwood. On each side, high mountains rise abruptly from the plain, and are crowned with antique ruins, modern country-houses, manufactories, whose towering chimneys send out columns of thick smoke, or with grotesque groupes of upright rocks. The vegetation is everywhere rich, and hill and vale are filled with lofty trees, whose varied hues add so infinitely to the beauty and picturesque effect of a landscape. In the midst of this luxuriant nature, arises, with a grandeur heightened by contrast, a single, long, black, bare range of mountains, clothed only with thick,

dark heather, and from time to time skirting the high road. This magnificent road, which from London to Holyhead, a distance of two hundred miles, is as even as a "parquet," here runs along the side of the left range of mountains, at about their middle elevation, and following all their windings; so that, in riding along at a brisk trot or gallop, the traveller is presented at every minute with a completely new prospect; and without changing his position, overlooks the valley now before him, now behind, now at his side. On one side is an aqueduct of twenty-five slender arches, a work which would have done honour to Rome. Through this, a second river is led over the valley, and across the Dee, at an elevation of a hundred and twenty feet above the bed of the natural stream. A few miles farther on, the little town of Llangollen offers a delightful resting-place, and is deservedly much resorted to.

'There is a beautiful view from the churchyard near the inn: here I climbed upon a tomb, and stood for half an hour enjoying with deep and grateful delight the beauties so richly spread before me. Immediately below me bloomed a terraced garden, filled with vine, honeysuckle, rose, and a hundred gay flowers, which descended to the very edge of the foaming stream. On the right hand, my eye followed the crisped waves in their restless, murmuring course through the overhanging thicket; before me rose two lines of wood, divided by a strip of meadow-land filled with grazing cattle; and high above all, rose the bare conical peak of a mountain, crowned by the ruins of the old Welsh castle Dinas Bran, or the Crow's Fortress. On the left, the stone houses of the town lie scattered along the valley; the river forms a considerable waterfall near the picturesque bridge, while three colossal rocks rise immediately behind it like giant guards, and shut out all the more distant wonders of this enchanting region.'

Vol. I. pp. 16—18.

'But the vale of Llangollen is only the proem to the true epopea, the high mountain district. After quitting the waterfall, and riding for about half an hour through a nearly level country, all at once, a little beyond the inn at Cernioge Maur, you enter the holy of holies. Huge black rocks form a sublime amphitheatre, and their jagged and rent peaks seem to float in the clouds. Below, at a depth of eight hundred feet of perpendicular rock, the mountain torrent forces its difficult way, leaping headlong from chasm to chasm. Before me lay mountains rising one above another in endless perspective. I was so enchanted that I exclaimed aloud with delight. And in the midst of such scenery, it is impossible to say enough in praise of the road, which, avoiding every great inequality of surface, allows the traveller to enjoy at his ease all the "belles horreurs" of this mountain region. Wherever it is not protected by the rocks, it is fenced by low walls; at equal distances are niches neatly walled in, in which are deposited the stones for mending the roads: this has a much better effect than the open heaps by the sides of our roads.

'The mountain region of Wales has a very peculiar character, which it is difficult to compare with any other. Its height is about that of the Riesengebirg, but it is infinitely grander in form, richer in striking and picturesquely grouped peaks. The vegetation is more varied in

plants, though there is less wood, and it contains rivers and lakes, in which the Riesengebirg is quite deficient. On the other hand, it wants the majestic, impervious forests of the abode of Rübezahl; and in some places, cultivation has already occupied the middle ground in a manner which would harmonize better with the beautiful than with the sublime. The road from Capel Cerig to within a few miles of Bangor is, however, wild and rugged as can be desired; and broad masses of red and yellow heath flowers, ferns, and other plants which do not bloom in our severe climate, clothe the rocks, and replace the trees, which do not flourish at such an elevation. But the most striking variety of the picture is produced by the strange, wild, and colossal forms of the mountains themselves: some of them are much more like clouds than solid masses. The peak of Trivaen is surmounted by such extraordinary basaltic pillars, that travellers can hardly be persuaded that they are not men: they are only mountain spirits keeping the everlasting station to which Merlin condemned them.' Vol. I. pp. 23—25.

The Chain Bridge over the Menai excited the Prince's highest admiration, and seemed to him well to deserve the name of the eighth wonder of the world,—although the world's wonders have long been multiplied far beyond the original number.

'The more thoroughly and minutely I viewed it, the greater was my astonishment. I thought I beheld in a dream a filagree work suspended by fairies in the air. In short, the fancy cannot exhaust itself in comparisons; and, as a stage coach with four horses drove rapidly over the arch a hundred feet high and six hundred wide, half concealed by the intertexture of the chains on which the bridge is suspended, I thought I saw larks fluttering in a net. The men who were seated in various parts of the chain-work, giving it its first coat of paint, were like captive insects. Those who know the castle at Berlin, will be able to form some idea of the enormous dimensions of this bridge, when they hear that it would stand perfectly well under the centre arch: and yet the chains hold the latter so firmly, that even driving at the quickest rate, or with the heaviest burden, which is by no means forbidden, does not excite the smallest perceptible vibration. The bridge is divided at the top into three roads, one for going, another for returning, and a third for foot passengers. The planks rest on an iron grating, so that they are easily removed when out of repair, and no danger is to be apprehended when they break. Every three years, the whole iron-work receives a fresh coat of paint, to prevent rust.' Vol. I. pp. 93, 4.

Of the inhabitants of the principality, the German Traveller remarks, that, 'without the activity and the energy of the English, 'still less animated by the fire of the Irish, they vegetate, poor and obscure, between both. They have, however, retained the simplicity of mountaineers; and they are neither so rude and boorish, nor do they cheat so impudently, as the Swiss. *Point d'argent, point de Suisse*, is not yet applicable here.'

The fourth Letter transports us to Ireland, which appeared to the Author to have more resemblance to Germany than to

England. 'That universal and almost over-refined industry and 'culture disappear here, and with it, alas! English neatness.' The grand features of the scenery of Dublin, the bay, the distant mountains of Wicklow, the hill of Howth, the amphitheatrical mass of houses, the quays, and the harbour, struck him as highly beautiful. The people are thus described :

'The Phoenix Park, the *Prater* of Dublin, in no respect yields to that of Vienna, whether we regard its expanse of beautiful turf for riding, long avenues for driving, or shady walks. I found it rather empty ; but the streets through which I returned, full of movement and bustle. The dirt, the poverty, and the ragged clothing of the common people often exceed all belief. Nevertheless, they seem always good-natured, and sometimes have fits of merriment in the open streets, which border on madness. Whiskey is generally at the bottom of this. The streets are crowded with beggar-boys, who buzz around one like flies, incessantly offering their services. Notwithstanding their extreme poverty, you may trust implicitly to their honesty ; and wretched, lean, and famished as they appear, you see no traces of melancholy on their open, good-natured countenances. They are the best bred and most contented beggar-boys in the world. Such a little fellow will run by your horse's side for hours, hold it when you alight, go on any errand you like ; and is not only contented with the few pence you give him, but full of gratitude, which he expresses with Irish hyperbole. The Irishman appears generally more patient than his neighbours, but somewhat degraded by long slavery.' Vol. I. pp. 163, 4.

'In many points of view, this nation is really semi-barbarous. The universal want of decent clothing among the lower classes, even on festivals ; their utter inability to resist ardent spirits, so long as they have a penny in their pockets ; the sudden and continual wild quarrels and national pitched battles with the shillelah, (a murderous sort of stick, which every man keeps hidden under his rags,) in which hundreds take part in a minute, and do not desist till several are left dead or wounded on the field ; the frightful war-whoop which they set up on these occasions ; the revenge for an affront or injury, which is cherished and inherited by whole villages :—on the other hand, the light-hearted carelessness which never thinks of the coming day ; the heartfelt merriment, forgetful of all want and suffering ; the kind hospitality which ungrudgingly shares the last morsel ; the unreserved cordiality with the stranger who makes any advances to them ; the natural fluency and eloquence which they have ever at command ;—all are characteristics of a half-civilized people.' *Ib.* pp. 227, 8.

'We found the ragged potatoe-eating people every where gay and joyous. They always beg, to be sure ; but they beg laughing, with wit, humour, and the drollest expressions, without importunity, and without *rancune* if they get nothing. Most striking, amid such singular poverty, is the not less singular honesty of these people.'

Ib. p. 262.

'The natural grace of the Irish peasant-women, who are often truly beautiful, is as surprising as their dress, or rather their want of dress ; for, though it was very cold on these hills, the whole clothing of the

young woman consisted of a large very coarse straw hat, and *literally* two or three rags of the coarsest sackcloth suspended under the breast by a piece of cord, and more than half disclosing her handsome person. Her conversation was cheerful, sportive, and witty, perfectly unembarrassed, and in a sense free; but you would fall into a great error, if you inferred from that any levity or looseness of conduct. The women of this class in Ireland are, almost universally, extremely chaste, and still more disinterested.' Vol. I. p. 170.

In a subsequent portion of the Letters, we meet with the following parallel between the Irish and the Slavonian peasantry of Germany.

'The melodies which were sung had a striking resemblance to those of the Wendish nations. This is one of the many features of similarity which strike me, between those nations and the Irish. Both manufacture, and have an exclusive taste for, spirit distilled from corn; both live almost entirely on potatoes; both have the bagpipe; both are passionate lovers of singing and dancing, and yet their national airs are of a melancholy character; both are oppressed by a foreign nation, and speak a gradually expiring language, which is rich and poetical, though possessed of no literature; both honour the descendants of their ancient princes, and cherish the principle, that what is not renounced is not utterly lost; both are superstitious, cunning, and greatly given to exaggeration; rebellious where they can, but somewhat cringing to decided and established power; both *like* to go ragged, even when they have the means of dressing better; and lastly, spite of their miserable living, both are capable of great exertion, though they prefer indolence and loitering; and both alike enjoy a fertile soil, which the Wendish phrase calls, "the roast meat of poor people". The better qualities which distinguish the Irish, are theirs alone.'

Vol. II. pp. 49, 50.

His German Highness paid a visit to Ireland's evil genius, then residing in his solitary fortress in the most desert region of Ireland. We have the following portrait of the great Agitator and his Confessor.

'Daniel O'Connell is indeed no common man,—though the man of the commonalty. His power is so great, that at this moment it only depends on him to raise the standard of rebellion from one end of the island to the other. He is, however, too sharp-sighted, and much too sure of attaining his end by safer means, to wish to bring on any such violent crisis. He has certainly shewn great dexterity in availing himself of the temper of the country at this moment, legally, openly, and in the face of the Government, to acquire a power scarcely inferior to that of the sovereign; indeed, though without arms or armies, in some instances far surpassing it:—for how would it have been possible for His Majesty George IV. to withhold 40,000 of his faithful Irishmen for three days from whisky-drinking; which O'Connell actually accomplished in the memorable Clare election. The enthusiasm of

the people rose to such a height, that they themselves decreed and inflicted a punishment for drunkenness. The delinquent was thrown into a certain part of the river, and held there for two hours, during which time he was made to undergo frequent submersions.

‘The next day I had fuller opportunity of observing O’Connell. On the whole, he exceeded my expectations. His exterior is attractive; and the expression of intelligent good-nature, united with determination and prudence, which marks his countenance, is extremely winning. He has, perhaps, more of persuasiveness than of genuine, large, and lofty eloquence; and one frequently perceives too much design and manner in his words. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to follow his powerful arguments with interest, to view the martial dignity of his carriage without pleasure, or to refrain from laughing at his wit. It is very certain that he looks much more like a general of Napoleon’s, than a Dublin advocate. This resemblance is rendered much more striking by the perfection with which he speaks French,—having been educated at the Jesuits’ Colleges at Douai and St. Omer. His family is old, and was probably one of the great families of the land. His friends, indeed, maintain that he springs from the ancient kings of Kerry,—an opinion which no doubt adds to the reverence with which he is regarded by the people. He himself told me,—and not without a certain *pretension*,—that one of his cousins was Comte O’Connell, and “*cordons rouges*” in France, and another a baron, general, and chamberlain to the Emperor of Austria; but that he was the head of the family. It appeared to me, that he was regarded by the other members of it with almost religious enthusiasm. He is about fifty years old, and in excellent preservation, though his youth was rather wild and riotous.

‘Among other things, he became notorious, about ten years ago, for a duel he fought. The Protestants, to whom his talents early made him formidable, set on a certain Desterre,—a bully and fighter by profession,—to ride through all the streets of Dublin with a hunting-whip, which, as he declared, he intended to lay on the shoulders of the king of Kerry. The natural consequence was a meeting the next morning, in which O’Connell lodged a bullet in Desterre’s heart. Desterre’s shot went through his hat. . . .

‘His desire for celebrity seemed to me boundless. . . . He has received from Nature an invaluable gift for a party-leader; a magnificent voice, united to good lungs and a strong constitution. His understanding is sharp and quick, and his acquirements out of his profession not inconsiderable. With all this, his manners are, as I have said, winning and popular: although somewhat of the actor is perceivable in them, they do not conceal his very high opinion of himself, and are occasionally tinged by what an Englishman would call “*vulgarity*.” Where is there a picture entirely without shade!

‘Another interesting man, the real though not ostensible head of the Catholics, was present; Father L’Estrange, a friar, and O’Connell’s confessor. He may be regarded as the real founder of that Catholic Association so often derided in England, but which, by merely *negative* powers, by dexterous activity in secret, and by universally organizing and training the people to one determinate end, attained a power over

them as boundless as that of the hierarchy in the middle ages ; with this difference, that the former strove for light and liberty, the latter for darkness and slavery. This is another outbreak of that *second* great revolution, which, solely by intellectual means, without any admixture of physical force, is advancing to its accomplishment ; and whose simple but resistless weapons are public discussion and the press. L'Estrange is a man of philosophical mind and unalterable calmness. His manners are those of an accomplished gentleman, who has traversed Europe in various capacities, has a thorough knowledge of mankind, and with all his mildness cannot always conceal the sharp traces of great acuteness. I should call him the ideal of a well-intentioned Jesuit.' Vol. I. pp. 333—337.

In a note we are told, that 'all the Catholic children in Ireland are carefully instructed, and can at least read, while the Protestant are often utterly ignorant.' We cannot doubt that the Author was told this : that he should have swallowed the impudent falsehood, is a proof how much credulity is generally associated with scepticism, and how powerful and inveterate are the prejudices of the liberal. But we cannot find the same excuse for the monstrous allegation, that 'the English, like true Turks, keep the intellects of their wives and daughters in as narrow bounds as possible, with a view of securing their absolute and exclusive property in them'; and that 'in general their success is perfect'. This from a German, is somewhat too bad ; and even the Translator is fain to attempt an awkward apology for his Author.

In the second volume, we are introduced to the leaders of the Catholic Association in groupe.

'The three most prominent speakers are O'Connell, Shiel, and Lawless. Mr. Fin and Mr. Ford also spoke well, and with great dignity of manner. Shiel is a man of the world, and has even more ease in society than O'Connell : but as a speaker, he appeared to me too affected, too artificial ; and all he said, too much *got up* ; his manner was theatrical, and there was no real feeling in the "delivery" of his speech, as the English expressively call it. I am not surprised that, in spite of his undoubted talents, he is so much less popular than O'Connell. Both are very vain, but the vanity of O'Connell is more frank, more confiding, and sooner satisfied ; that of Shiel, irritable, sore, and gloomy. The one is therefore, with reference to his own party, steeped in honey ; the other in gall ; and the latter, though contending for the same cause, is evidently jealous of his colleague, whom he vainly thinks to surpass. Mr. L——s is the Don Quixote of the Association. His fine head and white hair, his wild but noble dignity, and his magnificent voice, excite an expectation of something extraordinary when he rises : but the speech, which commences in an earnest tone, soon falls into the most incredible extravagancies, and sometimes into total absurdity, in which friend and foe are assailed with equal fury. He is therefore little heeded ; laughed at when he

rages like King Lear, unmindful of his audience, and of all that is passing around him. The dominant party, however, use him to make a noise when they want him. To-day he outdid himself to such a degree in the flight he took, that he suddenly erected the standard of Deism in the midst of the Catholic, arch-Catholic Association. Perhaps, indeed, this was only done to give occasion to O'Connell to call him indignantly to order, and to bring in a pious tirade; for on the orator's rostrum as on the tub, on the throne as in the puppet-show booth, clap-traps are necessary.' Vol. II. pp. 118, 119.

On turning over the leaf, we light upon an atheistic defence of suicide, as an expedient much to be preferred to a loss of self-respect. Judas Iscariot must, in our Author's opinion, have acted like a philosopher in hanging himself. But we have already intimated our resolution to refrain from comment upon the impious ribaldry which is perpetually spiriting itself upon the reader, and marring the pleasure he might otherwise have enjoyed in accompanying the Prince on his Irish Tour. After visiting Galway, Cork, and Cashel, his Highness returned to Dublin, crossed the Channel to Holyhead,—explored the beauties of the Wye,—visited Chepstow, Bristol, Bath, Salisbury; and after a short stay in the metropolis, returned to his 'half-native soil' of France. Wishing to part with him in good humour, we shall make room for one more specimen of his skill in description. 'It is no small advantage to the Wye', he remarks, 'that two 'of the most beautiful ruins in the world lie on its banks'; and he expresses his admiration, that so many Englishmen 'should 'travel thousands of miles, to fall into ecstasies at beauties of a 'very inferior order to these.'

'In the centre of a deep basin, encompassed by mountains of various forms, we descried immediately above the silver stream, the celebrated ruins of Tintern Abbey. It would be difficult to imagine a more favourable situation, or a more sublime ruin. The entrance to it seems as if contrived by the hand of some skilful scene-painter to produce the most striking effect. The church, which is large, is still almost perfect: the roof alone and a few of the pillars are wanting. The ruins have received just that degree of care which is consistent with the full preservation of their character; all unpicturesque rubbish which could obstruct the view, is removed, without any attempt at repair or embellishment. A beautiful smooth turf covers the ground, and luxuriant creeping plants grow amid the stones. The fallen ornaments are laid in picturesque confusion, and a perfect avenue of thick ivy-stems climb up the pillars and form a roof over-head. The better to secure the ruin, a new gate of antique workmanship, with iron ornaments, is put up. When this is suddenly opened, the effect is most striking and surprising. You suddenly look down the avenue of ivy-clad pillars, and see their grand perspective lines closed, at a distance of three hundred feet, by a magnificent window eighty feet high and thirty broad: through its intricate and beautiful tracery you see a wooded mountain,

from whose side project abrupt masses of rock. Over-head, the wind plays in the garlands of ivy, and the clouds pass swiftly across the deep blue sky. When you reach the centre of the church, whence you look to the four extremities of its cross, you see the two transept windows, nearly as large and as beautiful as the principal one: through each you command a picture perfectly different, but each in the wild and sublime style which harmonizes so perfectly with the building. Immediately around the ruin is a luxuriant orchard. In spring, how exquisite must be the effect of these gray venerable walls rising out of that sea of fragrance and beauty! A Vandal lord and lord-lieutenant of the county conceived the pious design of restoring the church. Happily, Heaven took him to itself before he had time to execute it.

From Tintern Abbey, the road rises uninterruptedly to a considerable height above the river, which is never wholly out of sight. The country reaches the highest degree of its beauty in three or four miles, at the Duke of Beaufort's villa, called the Moss House. Here are delightful paths, which lead in endless windings through wild woods and evergreen thickets, sometimes on the edge of lofty walls of rock, sometimes through caves fashioned by the hand of Nature, or suddenly emerge on open plateaus to the highest point of this chain of hills, called the Wind-cliff, whence you enjoy one of the most extensive and noble views in England.

At a depth of about eight hundred feet, the steep descent below you presents in some places single projecting rocks; in others, a green bushy precipice. In the valley, the eye follows for several miles the course of the Wye, which issues from a wooded glen on the left hand, curves round a green garden-like peninsula rising into a hill studded with beautiful clumps of trees, then forces its foaming way to the right, along a huge wall of rock nearly as high as the point where you stand, and at length, near Chepstow Castle, which looks like a ruined city, empties itself into the Bristol Channel, where ocean closes the dim and misty distance.

On this side of the river, before you, the peaked tops of a long ridge of hills extend along nearly the whole district which your eye commands. It is thickly clothed with wood, out of which a continuous wall of rock, festooned with ivy, picturesquely rears its head. Over this ridge you again discern water,—the Severn, five miles broad, thronged with a hundred white sails, on either shore of which you see blue ridges of hills full of fertility and rich cultivation.

The grouping of this landscape is perfect: I know of no picture more beautiful. Inexhaustible in details, of boundless extent, and yet marked by such grand and prominent features, that confusion and monotony, the usual defects of a very wide prospect, are completely avoided. Piercefield Park, which includes the ridge of hills from Wind-cliff to Chepstow, is therefore without question the finest in England, at least for situation. It possesses all that Nature can bestow; lofty trees, magnificent rocks, the most fertile soil, a mild climate favourable to vegetation of every kind, a clear foaming stream, the vicinity of the sea, solitude, and, from the bosom of its own tranquil seclusion, a view into the rich country I have described, which receives a lofty interest from a ruin the most sublime that the imagina-

tion of the finest painter could conceive,—I mean Chepstow Castle. It covers five acres of ground, and lies close to the park on the side next the town, though it does not belong to it.'

Vol. II. pp. 189—192.

Art. V. *Liberia*; or the Early History and Signal Preservation of the American Colony of Free Negroes on the Coast of Africa. Compiled from American Documents. By William Innes. 18mo. pp. 152. Edinburgh, 1831.

AT Cape Mount, where the western coast of Africa begins to trend to the south-east, commences what is usually called the Windward Coast. This is again divided into the Grain Coast, terminating at Cape Palmas; the Ivory Coast, extending from that point to the mouth of the Lagos; and the coast of Adoo, terminating at the mouth of the Assinee. On that part of the Grain Coast which has been called the kingdom of Cape Mount, but which appears to be divided among several petty tribes, has been founded the American colony, composed of Afro-Americans and liberated Africans, to which has been given the name of Liberia. Monrovia, the chief settlement, is situated half a mile from the mouth of the river Mesurado (Mont-Serado), about two miles within the extremity of the cape of that name. The district of country which comes more especially within the influence of the Colony, extends from the river Gullinas, about 100 miles N.W. of Monrovia, as far eastward as the Kroo country; but the proper territory of Liberia terminates south-eastward at the mouth of the Junk river, the head-waters of which approach those of the Montserado, so as to leave only a very narrow strip of high land between them; and the streams flowing in opposite directions, at the back of the territory, almost isolate it from the main land. The width of this peninsular tract in no part exceeds one league, between the rivers and the ocean, and in many places is narrowed to half that distance. Its length is about twelve leagues. The purchase of this tract, called the Montserado, or Mamba territory, was effected in 1821, by the American Colonization Society, the origin of which will be best explained by the following circular statement put forth by the Society, and addressed to the British public.

'So far back as 1698, the Assembly of Pennsylvania, to put an end to the introduction of slaves, laid a duty of 10*l.* per head, upon their importation; but this benevolent law, together with about *fifty* of similar tenor, which were passed by the neighbouring colonies up to the period of their Revolution, were all refused the sanction of the mother country. In their declaration of Independence, dated July 4th, 1776, the introduction of slaves was one of the great causes of complaint.

‘ Scarcely had that struggle ceased, when a Colony on the coast of Africa, similar to that of Liberia, was proposed ; but the prosecution of the Slave Trade, by every civilized Power, defeated these benevolent views. In 1796, the plan was again revived in a series of luminous Essays by Gerard T. Hopkins, a distinguished friend in Baltimore ; and shortly afterwards, the legislature of Virginia, a State containing nearly one-third of the black population of the Union, pledged its faith to give up all their slaves, provided the United States could obtain a proper asylum for them. President Jefferson negotiated in vain for a territory either in Africa or Brazil ; but that great State again renewed its pledge in 1816, by a vote of 190 to 9, (most of the members being slave-holders,) upon which, Gen. C. F. Mercer, the Wilberforce of the American Congress, opened a correspondence with the philanthropists of the different States, which led to the formation of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, on the 1st of January, 1817.

‘ The great objects of that Society, were—the final and entire abolition of slavery, providing for the best interests of the blacks, by establishing them in independence upon the coast of Africa ; thus constituting them the protectors of the unfortunate natives against the inhuman ravages of the slaver, and seeking, through them, to spread the lights of civilization and Christianity among the *fifty millions* who inhabit those dark regions. To meet the views of all parties, they had a most difficult path to tread ; but, as all legislation on the subject of slavery was *specially reserved to the respective States by the Articles of Confederation, and had become the basis of the Constitution of the United States*, they very wisely, instead of denouncing an evil which they had not the power to overthrow, had recourse to the more sure, but gradual mode of removing it, by enlightening the consciences, and convincing the judgements, of the slave-holders. Their theory is justified by experience ; for while our little colony has grown quite as fast as could be wished for by its most judicious friends, these principles have been silently gaining ground in the slave States, yet so rapidly, that the number of slaves offered gratuitously by benevolent owners, exceed ten-fold the present means of the Society to receive and convey them to Africa. The disposition of Virginia has been already shewn. Delaware and Kentucky have also proved their anxiety to concur in so noble a cause ; and Dr. Ayres, the earliest Governor of Liberia, now a resident of Maryland, asserts “ that, owing to the plans and principles of colonization being better understood, in less than twenty years there will be no more slaves born in that State.”

‘ A party in South Carolina is now almost the only opponent that the Society has at home ; and, as if to afford the most incontestible evidence that its plan will destroy the institution of slavery in the United States, they ground their opposition upon the *inevitable tendency* of colonization to *eradicate slave-holding*, and thereby deprive them of their *property*.

‘ But if the present means of the Society are inadequate to effect its purposes, it will be recollected that only eight years have elapsed since Cape Messurado, then a mart for the sale of 10,000 fellow-creatures annually, was purchased from the natives ; that unhallowed

traffic has been entirely destroyed ; a flourishing colony of 2000 emancipated slaves has been founded ; churches, schools, commerce, and even a newspaper established ; and the confidence of the Aborigines so completely won, that 10,000 of them are, as allies of this new republic, participating in the blessings of civilization and religion.'

The difficulties and dangers with which the infant settlement had to contend, as detailed by Mr. Ashmun, the first Colonial Agent, were such as to render its preservation a signal instance of Providential interposition; and 'a strong confidence in the 'superintending providence of the Most High,' was the only principle that could have sustained the courage and fortitude of the little band of colonists. Yet, rarely has a first settlement been successfully established with less expenditure of life and treasure; and in no instance, perhaps, have such results been produced in so short a time under similar disadvantages. The first colony of Virginia, torn by internal feuds, and exposed to frequent attacks from the savages, was repeatedly on the verge of extinction, and barely maintained a feeble existence, with the aid of foreign supplies. In the year 1624, after more than 150,000*l.* had been expended, and more than 9000 persons had been sent from England, its population did not exceed 1800 persons. Or, to state an instance more directly in point, at the end of the first twenty years of the settlement at Sierra Leone, in 1807, the total population amounted to only 1871 persons. The colony of Liberia was commenced, ten years ago, upon a much humbler scale; the number of the first settlers (so as we can make it out from the indistinct narrative) being only 166, of whom twenty fell victims to the climate soon after their arrival. At one time, the numerical force of the settlers was reduced to thirty-five effective persons, including six native youths. The colony now includes above 1500 'free people of colour, enjoying perfect security, possessing abundance of the necessaries and comforts of 'life, and in the full exercise of all the rights and privileges of 'freemen.' The latest intelligence of the state of the colony, is contained in the following letter from Governor Mechlin, dated Liberia, Feb. 21st, 1831.

'The prospects of the Colony were never brighter than at present. The improvements in commerce, agriculture, buildings, &c., during my short visit to the United States, have been astonishingly great, and far exceeded my most sanguine expectations. In Monrovia alone, upwards of twenty-five substantial stone and frame dwelling-houses have been erected within the short space of five months, and many others are in progress; and should nothing intervene to interrupt our present advancement, our little town will, ere long, be one of the most desirable places of resort on the western coast of Africa. I have been informed by a captain recently from the leeward, that there is, at present, much more business done at this place, than at any of the old

European Settlements on the Gold Coast. That our commerce has greatly increased, will be rendered evident by comparing the marine list contained in the *Herald* of the present month, with that of any of the preceding.

‘ Our agricultural interests, I am credibly informed, (for my health and multiplied duties have not permitted me to examine for myself,) have advanced “*pari passu*”;—indeed, the spirit of improvement appears to have gone abroad in the colony, and the people seem to be awakened to the importance of more fully developing the resources of the country, than has hitherto been done.

‘ Our influence over the native tribes in our vicinity is rapidly extending; and since my return, several have made application to be received under our protection, offering to subject themselves to our laws;—or, as they expressed it—“They want to be made Americans, and to be allowed to call themselves Americans”. This is, I can assure you, deemed no small privilege. In one or two instances, their request has been acceded to; in others, it has been thought inexpedient to grant it, in consequence of their remote situation rendering it impossible for us to afford them protection, without involving ourselves in endless and ruinous disputes with the natives; but as soon as prudence will warrant, they shall be admitted as part of the community. This mode of proceeding, I find to be the most effectual of civilizing them; for as soon as they consider themselves as subjects of Liberia, they visit us more freely, and by associating with the colonists, insensibly adopt our manners and customs, and gradually, from being ignorant pagans, become civilized, and Christians.

‘ We have at present among our re-captured Africans, many who, on their arrival here, were scarcely a remove, in point of civilization, from the native tribes around us, but who are at present as pious and devoted servants of Christ, as you will meet in any community; and, by their walk and conversation, afford an example worthy of imitation. They have a house for public worship, and Sunday Schools established, which are well attended, and their church is regularly supplied every Sunday from among our own clergy. These people I consider as forming one admirable medium of communication or link between the savage natives and the civilized colonists from the United States; and will, I have no doubt, prove a powerful means of spreading the light of Christianity and civilization over this benighted country.

‘ Our schools have hitherto been in rather a languishing condition; but I have great hopes, ere long, to carry into operation the system of education lately adopted by the Board of Managers; and with the view of rendering the burthen as light as possible to the Society, a law has recently been passed by the Agent and Council, taxing all the real estate in the colony, at the rate of 50 cents in the hundred dollars, which tax is to be exclusively devoted to the support of public schools; the amount thus raised, together with the proceeds of sales of public lands, as well as the duties on spirituous liquors, will do much towards accomplishing this important object; and if my health should continue to improve, I trust soon to be enabled to announce, that all in the colony are enjoying the advantages of education.

'As to the morals of the colonists, I consider them much better than those of the people of the United States; that is, you may take an equal number of inhabitants from any section of the Union, and you will find more drunkards, more profane swearers, and Sabbath breakers, &c., than in Liberia. Indeed, I know of no country where things are conducted more quietly and orderly than in this colony. You rarely hear an oath; and as to riots or breaches of the peace, I recollect of but one instance, and that of a trifling nature, that has come under my notice since I assumed the government of the colony. The Sabbath is more strictly observed than I ever saw it in the United States. Our Sunday Schools are well attended, not only by the children of the colonists, but also by the native children who reside amongst us. The natives themselves are so well acquainted with our strict observance of this day, that you never find them offering any thing for sale, nor can you hire them to work for you,—I mean those who have been amongst us, and are at all acquainted with our customs. Mr. Skinner, the Baptist Missionary, stated, that he was surprised to find every thing conducted in so orderly a manner, and the Sabbath so strictly observed, and that the state of society was much better than he expected to find it.'

The present narrative cannot fail to interest our readers; and every philanthropist must feel a glow of satisfaction at the rising prosperity of this little State, in which our more sanguine American friends discern, with prophetic eye, the foundation of an Americo-African empire! Of this, it is confidently anticipated that Sierra Leone must eventually become a part. That Sierra Leone, if abandoned by the British, would be occupied by the Americans, there is no room to doubt; and it is not less certain, that, in order to be retained with advantage by us, there must be a more systematic adoption of the American policy, by which the waste of European life might be wholly obviated. What is there to hinder the Anglo-African colony, under wise administration, from keeping pace, in the race of improvement, with Liberia itself?

We are somewhat surprised at finding no notice taken in the present narrative, of one estimable individual, whose remarkable history, and the service he rendered to the infant settlement, entitled him to honourable mention. We refer to the Rev. Lott Carey, who was killed by an explosion of gunpowder, when acting temporarily as governor of the colony, in Nov. 1828. A brief memoir of this extraordinary man will be found in the Missionary Register for Nov. 1829.

Mr. Douglas, in his "Hints on Missions", published in 1822, after observing that the civilizers of Africa must be Africans, adds: 'and America is the country where the civilization of Africa ought to commence.' This 'hint' seems likely to be realized. The Americans are beginning to be alarmed at the prospect of a negro-American nation; and many of them would fain get rid of the whole mass of the coloured population by a general *exodus*. The following statement shews that even the

American philanthropists are not exempt from the operation of that national prejudice which leads every white man in the United States to shrink with disgust and horror from all contact and fellowship with his black brother, and to refuse to worship the Father of Spirits in the same temple with those who are guilty of a darker skin.

‘The whole coloured population of the United States is estimated at about 2,000,000, and they are supposed to increase in nearly the same ratio as the whites, or to double in *thirty* years. In *thirty* years from this time, then, there will be *four millions* of negroes in the country, and in *sixty* years, *eight millions*! A nation of 8,000,000 of degraded, despised, oppressed beings! And to this accelerated progress there is no limit. The barbarous scheme of Pharaoh, if practicable, would alone retard it. But from this, our feelings as men and as Christians, revolt with horror. What then is to be done? We would fain indulge the hope that this dreadful curse will one day be removed, and that, when we speak about the millions who inhabit our land, we may add with pride, *they are all freemen*. We know not how it may be with others, but for ourselves we see no human means by which this can be accomplished, unless it be by colonization; and if ever the work is to be commenced, it cannot be done under more favourable auspices than at the present period. It is at least worth the experiment, and now is the best time for making it. The American Colonization Society have undertaken to lead the way; they have founded a colony on the coast of Africa, and it only requires the encouragement of an enlightened country to give the plan a fair trial. If it succeed, the benefit to our country will be incalculable: if it fail, the pious and patriotic men who have made the attempt, have done their duty; and we must submit with resignation to the unavoidable calamity. But there is yet hope, and while any thing remains untried, no effort should be spared. It is true, the work is immense, and the means of the Society are small—confessedly inadequate to the accomplishment of the project. But the Society never pretended to be able to carry through this great enterprise. They have acted only as pioneers in the work. All they could expect to do was, “merely to pave the way, to point out the track,” and call upon the nation to follow.

‘Even with the assistance of Government, there are many difficulties; and the final attainment of the object must be remote; but the difficulties are not insuperable; and the remoteness of the desirable event should be no objection. It is to be recollected, that this matter affects the vital interest of the republic; and, if a century or more is required to complete it, this time, in the age of a nation, is soon passed. Individuals commence works which they can scarcely expect to see finished; and surely a great national undertaking is not to be left unattempted, because the present generation may not witness its completion. But the benefits of colonization are not to be referred to a remote period; they commence immediately—they are already felt; and every year, as it extends the operation of the plan, will increase its beneficial effects, and facilitate its final accomplishment. Each state, like Maryland, may take advantage of this measure, and remove the coloured

population within its own borders ; and those states which have heretofore been obliged to forbid emancipation, will have no longer cause for apprehension, when the slave can be removed as soon as he is liberated.—Many gentlemen of the south have expressed their willingness to emancipate their slaves, if the Society would take charge of them ; and this feeling will, no doubt, increase, if adequate means for its exercise be afforded. In some of the states, the education of slaves is forbidden by law ; and in most of them, the advantages of instruction are in a great measure withheld from the people of colour. In their present situation, this may be necessary ; but if the means of their removal from the country were provided, their education might be encouraged with safety, in the assurance, that the more enlightened they become, the more desirous they will be to embrace this opportunity of improving their condition. Many of the better class of our coloured population still regard the colony with suspicion, and distrust the benevolent intentions of its founders ; but, when they know that there is a nation of their brethren on the coast of Africa, in the full enjoyment of all the blessings of freedom and rational equality, their prejudices will yield to conviction, and they will be glad to enrol themselves among the citizens of Liberia. Instead of being looked upon, as it now is, by too many, as a receptacle of slaves and discontented free negroes, it will be regarded in its true light, as the appropriate home of the coloured man—the only place where he may employ his faculties to their full extent, and assert the dignity of his nature, as a man and a freeman. The number of emigrants to this country, from Great Britain and Ireland, during the year 1827, was 23,000 ; and the number this year will probably be as great, or greater. If such multitudes leave their homes, and come to a foreign land to procure employment and support, the same motives, with all the additional reasons the peculiarity of their situation suggests, will induce the coloured people of this country to emigrate to Africa, when assured, that, by so doing, they will certainly improve their condition. The annual increase of our whole coloured population is estimated at 52,000 ; to remove any portion of this, would be an advantage ; to remove the whole, would prevent the growth of the evil ; and every thing beyond this would tend to its eradication.' pp. 108—111.

It seems that, in the slave-holding States, a slave-proprietor is prevented by law from emancipating a slave, how much soever disposed to do so, unless he at the same time send him out of the country. The alleged reason is, that 'in many cases the free negroes are a great annoyance to the community, often living 'by pilfering the property of their neighbours :' that is, many of the free negroes retain the vices of slaves. Hence, there is felt a much stronger wish to get rid of the free coloured population, than to meliorate the condition of the slaves ; and Liberia is thought a safer distance for a free negro state, than Hayti. Whatever mixture of motives, however, may actuate the friends of this Colonization scheme, the benefit to Africa will be great ; and America may, by this great act of retributive justice and humanity,

compensate, in some degree, for the wrongs and injuries inflicted upon generations of the dark-skinned helots of the West. Colonization is the only measure that can effectually and for ever put a stop to the piratical trade.

The specific object of the American Colonization Society is thus distinctly avowed in one of the annual Reports.

‘ It cannot be too often repeated, that the Society is instituted for the sole and entire purpose of demonstrating the practicability of removing, with their own consent, the entire free black population of the United States to Africa. The purpose of this institution is specific and definite. The most moderate portion of intelligence can easily understand it. We disavow and reprobate every coercive means; we discard all restraint; we ask no bounties; we solicit no compulsion, by which to produce emigration. Having in the bosom of the country a free black population, computed now at 280,000, deprived of all political privileges, and many civil rights; constituting a distinct caste among our people; and, from the very nature of our institutions, destined, during their duration in all time to come, to occupy a condition which must tend to their civil, political, and moral degradation, and constitute them a curse to the land of their birth; the American Colonization Society was instituted to procure for them an asylum, to which they might voluntarily repair; and where they would be restored to all those rights, of which stern necessity required our laws to deprive them. Success in such a work carries with it a double blessing. Our own beloved country derived from the execution of the design her full share of the advantage. A race of men, whose distinctive characters must separate them from the rest of the population, whose morals must ever be of the humblest standard, and whose colour places an impassable barrier between them and the rest of the population of the land, are to be removed, and replaced by a free, hardy, virtuous white population, standing equal in every right claimed by civilized man. The emigrant is to be restored to all those rights which the free white men of this republic so highly value; he is to feel the elevation of his own condition; he is to occupy a country which he will proudly call his own, and where no other distinction will exist, save that bestowed by intelligence, accompanied by virtuous character and industrious habits. Can any one look with calm indifference on such a result?’—pp. 127, 128.

But what is to be the fate of the *slave*-population of America? Prudence seems to have prescribed an expressive silence on this topic. ‘ Get rid of the free black population by all means,’ the Slaveholders would say; but ‘ talk of emancipation at your peril.’

The following remarks on the climate of Africa appear to us worth transcribing, as equally applicable to our own settlements in Senegambia and on the Gold Coast.

‘ We are apt to imagine, that, because the climate of Africa is different from that to which we have been accustomed, it must necessarily be unhealthy; but this is clearly erroneous; and, if generally acted

upon, would prevent any change of residence. The climate of Liberia, like that of all other tropical situations, is exceedingly warm, and unfriendly to constitutions formed in more temperate regions. But it does not therefore follow, that it is unfitted to sustain human life, where there is a congeniality of constitution. Accordingly, we find that the natives of the country are a robust, healthy race, subject to no epidemic disease; and, of the emigrants who have gone from this country, those from the southern states have suffered but little by the change of climate. Early last year, the brig Doris carried out a considerable number of emigrants from North Carolina, who arrived at Liberia in April; and, in noticing their sickness, in his communication to the Board, Mr. Ashmun observes, "all the change they have undergone, seems to be less a *disease*, than a *salutary effort of nature* to accommodate the physical system of its subjects to the new influences of the tropical climate." It is true, many have died soon after their arrival; but, it was under peculiar circumstances, and such as are not likely again to occur. The first settlement, on the low, marshy ground of the Sherbro, was unfortunate, and very properly abandoned. The early settlers at Montserado, arrived at an improper time of the year, and were exposed to all the inclemencies of the rainy season, without sufficient houses to protect them. Add to this, the excessive fatigue they underwent in preparing for their defence against the natives; and it is not wonderful that many fell victims to disease. But, since the erection of suitable houses, and the release from incessant labour, the general health of the colony has been good, and the emigrants who have arrived at proper seasons of the year, have been exposed to little danger.

'Dr. Peaco, who resided some time at Liberia, as United States' agent for recaptured Africans, says, in a letter addressed to the Pennsylvania Colonization Society: "Persons of every description, from all parts of the world, are liable to an attack of bilious fever, shortly after their arrival; which I found, in every instance, to yield to the common remedies in the first attack; and all the deaths which occurred, were from relapses, occasioned by imprudently exposing themselves while in a state of convalescence; but few cases terminated fatally from among those who left Norfolk last winter; and but one of the people of colour, from North Carolina, who accompanied me out, fell a victim to the prevailing diseases of the climate."

'The true character of the African climate is not well understood in other countries. Its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, as long-lived, to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in this colony; nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the Continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one, too great not to affect the health, more or less; and in the cases of old people and very young children, it often causes death.' pp. 94—96.

Though 'perfectly salubrious to the natives and to the coloured emigrants who are habituated to it,' the climate is, however, ill adapted to the constitution of what physiologists term the Cir-

cassian race. 'Neither Europeans nor Americans,' we are told, 'have been able to become *acclimated* there; so that it would seem that Providence has specially appropriated this portion of 'the world to the original inhabitants and their descendants.' This argument, carried out to its full extent, would be of somewhat inconvenient application; for, upon the same principle, what business have Europeans in the West India Islands, in Guyana, or in Bengal, where the climate equally reproves the presumption of the white intruders?

NOTICES.

- Art. VI.—1. *A Letter addressed to the Bishop of Salisbury.* By William Tiptaft. Containing various Reasons why he resigns his Living, and cannot continue a Minister of the Church of England. 12mo. pp. 12. Price 3d. Abingdon, 1831.
2. *A Sermon on Revelation xiv. 13, tending to shew the Absurdity and Impiety of the promiscuous Use of the Church Burial Service:* preached in the Parish Church of Stadhampton, Oxon, on Sunday, Dec. 11, 1831. By Lancelot Charles L. Brenton, lately the Officiating Minister in the Parish of Stadhampton. 8vo. Price 1s. Oxford, 1831.
3. *An Expostulatory Epistle addressed to the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Henry Ryder, D.D. Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry: on the Rite of Confirmation and the present State of the Church of England.* By John Sibree. 12mo. Price 6d. London, 1831.

MR. TIPTAFT is, we understand, a friend and companion in labour of the Rev. Mr. Bulteel, whose irregular proceedings have procured his recent ejection from the Established Church. Fourteen reasons are assigned by Mr. T., for his voluntary secession from the Church of England, on discovering that he 'cannot hold his living and a good 'conscience too.' The first relates to the baptismal service; the second, to the burial of the dead; the third, to the Catechism; the fourth, to the order of Confirmation; the fifth, to 'the service for 'King Charles the Martyr'; the sixth, to the expression, 'our most 'religious and gracious king'; the seventh, to 'the order of the administration of the Lord's Supper'; the eighth, to 'the form of solemnization of marriage, as it can only be conscientiously read by an 'enlightened minister, when the persons to be married are true servants of the Lord, which of course is very seldom the case'; and on similar grounds, he objects, ninthly, to the service for the churching of women. The next four reasons assigned are of a more general nature. Mr. T. objects to the appointment of the bishops by the king, and to the whole system of Church patronage;—to 'the whole system of 'preparation for a minister of the Church of England';—to the total and

acknowledged want of discipline in the Church ;—and to ‘ the bishops ‘ having seats in the House of Lords.’ His fourteenth reason we give in his own words :

‘ I object to the oaths, subscriptions, and declarations that are required of the candidates for the ministry, and of every one who is ‘ licensed to a curacy, or instituted to a living ; and I object especially ‘ to the subscription, “ that there is nothing in the Book of Common ‘ Prayer contrary to the Word of God.” ’

Were not the history of the Act of Uniformity so well known, it might excite astonishment, that such a declaration as the last should ever have been extorted from the clergy. A more useless, vexatious, and unjustifiable oath was never imposed : useless, because it might be presumed that the subscriber would not consent to use a book which he believed to be at variance, in its doctrines, with the word of God ; vexatious, as binding the conscience in a matter of mere opinion ; and utterly unwarrantable, as affirming what cannot be proved to be true, and what a majority of the Protestant world judge to be untrue. Why, then, was this shameful condition of ordination imposed ? Or rather, why is it continued ? Is there a single conscientious clergyman in the Establishment, who does not object to *some* of the oaths, subscriptions, and declarations required of him ? If their objections are not so strong as to compel them to nonconformity ; still, there are thousands within the Establishment, who are increasingly dissatisfied with some parts of the service they are pledged to approve and discharge. Why do they take no steps to have their consciences freed from the yoke imposed by a profligate king and his wicked prelates ? Will such instances of integrity as those of Mr. Hurn, Mr. Tiptaft, and other recent seceders, have no effect in opening the eyes of the rulers of the Church to the signs of the times ?

Mr. Sibree’s Expostulatory Epistle relates to that part of the rite of Confirmation, in which the Bishop pronounces upon the kneeling multitude the solemn assurance, that God has vouchsafed to regenerate them by water and the Holy Ghost, and to give to them forgiveness of all their sins. The doctrine of sacerdotal absolution and sacerdotal regeneration, *countenanced* by such language, to say the least, and actually maintained by numbers of the examining clergy, is one of the most *demoralizing* of the Popish heresies. Mr. Sibree thus expostulates with the amiable and pious Prelate, who, alas ! is, equally with the humblest curate, tied and bound by the unscriptural trammels of human authority.

‘ Your religious opinions, my Lord, as well as your public and private character, are held in high veneration by many of the inhabitants of this city and neighbourhood ; and if they hear you, a devoted Christian, an *evangelical* Bishop, whose religious sentiments, with many, are almost oracular, declare in this solemn manner, before the face of Almighty God, that hundreds of young men and women are actually regenerated, and pardoned, while they are living in the “ neglect of the great salvation,” in the profanation of the Sabbath, in the indulgence of sinful, worldly pleasures,—the evils which your Lord-

ship, by this act, will occasion, will be incalculable, and most deplorable! May I then, as a friend to the spiritual efficiency of your Church, entreat you, before you again offer such language as that of the Confirmation Prayer, in the presence of the great Searcher of hearts, to pause—to consider, and ask yourself—*Do I in my heart believe that all those whom I am about to confirm, are regenerated by the Holy Ghost, and have received the forgiveness of all their sins?* If your Lordship has *any doubt* on this point, how can you utter before God, the language of *assurance*? “Whatsoever is not of faith is sin;” and the sin of deceiving immortal souls, is one of no ordinary magnitude. You “watch for souls as one that must give an account:” and having taken the charge of such an extensive diocese, containing hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, you have, as a Christian Minister, incurred a most tremendous and awful responsibility!” p. 9.

We wish that Mr. Sibree had confined his mild and respectful remonstrance to the immediate topic of his Letter. His reference to the tithes and ‘the alliance’, by mixing up secular questions with higher considerations, tends to lessen the force of his appeal. The present tithe system is a national grievance; but Dissenters have no better right to hold their land tithe-free, than Churchmen. They might as reasonably complain of the injustice of the land-tax or assessed taxes, or any other imposts. By attacking the Church property, Dissenters only bring their motives into suspicion.

Art. VII. *The Sacred Offering*, a Poetical Annual. MDCCCXIXII. 32mo. pp. 192. Price 4s. 6d. in silk. Liverpool, 1832.

WE noticed with pleasure, and in terms of deserved commendation, the first volume of this ‘sacred offering,’ and are happy to find that the whole impression was called for. The Editor expresses the hope that, ‘connected with the pleasure arising from a poetical source, more ‘serious objects will be attained.’ We shall make room for one entire poem of very superior merit and thrilling interest. The feelings it expresses, may have been participated by many, but we do not recollect to have seen them disclosed in the language of poetry. The whole volume is characterized by poetic taste, feeling, and piety.

‘THE CONDEMNED.

‘Night spreads around the outcasts of the earth
Silence, and the similitude of peace;
But the relentless mandate hath gone forth,
That time, and heaven’s own light, for *them* must cease.
Hushed was the dungeon.—The appalling gloom,
But not the quiet, of the grave was there:
Its living tenants knew, and felt their doom.
And o’er the fearful night-watch of despair,
Or o’er its heavy slumber, broke *that* bell,
As on the ear of death the archangel’s trump might swell.

- 'Tis sad to watch life ebbing to its close
 By stern disease, or nature's slow decay,
 When pain hath lent a blessing to repose,
 Or time hath worn the springs of life away ;
 But to see man, when all his feelings rise
 In their full vigour to the last dread strife,
 Strong in the strength of manhood's energies,
 And all his pulses beating high with life,
 Coolly led forth by human hands to die—
 Hast thou aught else like this—poor, proud humanity !
- Yet all those thousands—how they onward press,
 Eager to catch each groan, each glance to see ;
 As if their spirits revel in distress,
 And thirst for scenes of mortal agony !
 While the sun smiles on the awakening world,
 Thrilling fair nature's train with vigour new ;
 With morn's bright glories to their eyes unfurled,
 And nature round them, from the brightening hue
 That glows above, to the green turf beneath,
 Teeming with happy life,—they rush to look on death !
- The convict comes. He stands upon that spot,
 To him the threshold of a world unseen ;
 But in that moment he betrayeth not
 What his last hours of conflict may have been ;
 His eye already glazed, his cheek all pale,
 Bear not a record of the struggle past ;
 Feeling itself a deep impervious veil
 O'er its own devastation may have cast :
 And that unmeaning look rests like a shroud,
 Between his anguished heart, and yon expectant crowd.
- Does he for mercy plead ? His prayers are then
 Vain, as intreaties uttered to the wind.
 Of warning speak ? With the disowned of men
 Dwells there so much of interest for mankind ?
 A light springs up ! Is it that hope hath caught
 A brightness from the passing memory,—
 How in the hour, when first that hope was taught,
 He kneeled beside a pious mother's knee,—
 That a faint smile doth o'er his features play,
 As the still lightning gleams, when storms have pass'd away ?
- Or, that from all the hate that round him burns,
 The scorn, that even a felon's soul can move,
 From the rude laugh in bitterness he turns,
 And turning looks to God—"for God is love".
 But the law holds him in its iron clasp,
 The hand of death descendeth at its will ;
 And o'er the heart, that trembles in its grasp,
 The last convulsion comes with sudden chill,

While the first glow of faith is kindling there,
While yet the eyes are raised, the lips unclosed in prayer.

‘ Another comes, to pass the awful bound,
With brow of adamant, and heart of steel :
Not his own fate, nor that last earthly sound,
The world’s deep curses, teach his soul to feel.
They rage against him as the billows roar
Round the flint rocks, that limit their domain.
No light is there. *He* deems all will be o’er,
When the last pang has shook his mortal frame,
And the immortal soul, that there hath dwelt,
Departs in utter darkness—“ darkness to be felt.”

‘ Judges ! now look on the condemned once more.
Christians ! where is their place amongst the dead ?
Do you not think that every hope is o’er,
When the lost spirit from its clay hath fled ?
They whom distress hath hurried on to crime ;
They whose own passions urged their mad career ;
And they whose untaught minds craved but for time,—
Who yet were babes in knowledge,—all are here,
Unlike in guilt, yet to one ruin driven,
Cut off,—not from the hope of earth alone, but heaven.

‘ Was this revenge, requital of the ill
Which at the hand now powerless was received ?
Rulers ! have ye not read *your* Judge’s will,
Or, having read, how are ye thus deceived ?
HE at whose bar *you* must appear, hath said,
“ Though in time past was rendered wrong for wrong,
Ye shall resist not evil.” Are ye led
By feelings which to these mild words belong ?
When did *his* lips the work of death command ?
What have ye done for those who perish by your hand ?

‘ Or what for others ? If the plea be true,
That for example’s sake all these have died.
What ! must example teach, that man may sue
For life, his birthright, and may be denied ?
Must you, the delegates of Heaven’s high will,
Teach all that multitude assembled round,
That some there are whom it is just to kill,
Whose blood in vain will murmur from the ground ?
What can they learn from all they witness here,
Except to look on misery without a tear ?

‘ Think ye this pageantry of slaughter now
Hath the sublime and awful truth expressed,
That man’s high calling, stamped upon his brow
By the Creator’s image there impressed,

Makes human life a sacred, holy thing,
Which human hands may touch not? Or will they
Whom discipline and reason could not bring
To yield their heart's obedience, fear *your* sway,
Because the sceptre of the grave ye wield,
And with the arms of death, yourselves from death would shield?

'No.—You have taught them to despise his power ;
To brave the king of terrors in his might ;
To see the shades of darkness round them lower,
Nor shrink, nor quail, nor tremble at the sight :
Shewed them, how callous guilt all fear controls ;
How undismayed an infidel can die,
And mock at death. How darkly on your souls
A shadow from that fearful scene would lie,
If, of yon crowd, *one* so hath understood
The lesson you have writ in characters of blood !

'Why then this waste of life,—this law, that yields
That to the scythe, not for the gathering meet ?
Are ye sent forth into your master's fields
To pluck the tares that spring amongst his wheat ?
Are ye not rather told, " that both shall grow
Together till the harvest ?" So decreed
The Lord of life,—He who alone can know
The seed of promise from the worthless weed :
The angels are his reapers ; they shall come
To bind the appointed sheaves, and bear their burdens home.

'Frail man ! from you the perfect law of love
Demands that mercy which you hope to find :
Then, if you look for pardon from above,
Shew mercy to your brethren of mankind.
Salvation, not destruction, be your aim,
Knowing that " he who winneth souls is wise :"
That they who seek the guilty to reclaim,
Shedding, where ignorance or darkness lies,
That light divine, to man in mercy given,
Themselves " shall shine as stars eternally in heaven." '

We are reluctant to lessen the effect of these pathetic and powerful stanzas, by a single comment ; and yet we cannot forbear to remark, that the Writer's philanthropy has trespassed beyond the line of safe or sound reasoning, when the exhortation ' not to resist evil ', is cited as applicable to judicial punishment. To confound private retaliation with public retributive justice, is a palpable error. The inexpediency, inutility, inhumanity of capital punishments, in the greater part of the instances in which the extreme sanction of the law is had recourse to, we have always been forward to admit ; but we cannot perceive that the Scriptures authorize the opinion, that they are in all cases unlawful or inconsistent with the genius of Christianity. The '*sword*' of the

magistrate is recognized as among the ordinances of God, for the terror of evil-doers. But as to the effect of public executions, in hardening the spectators, there can be no question. When the public feeling is in sympathy with the criminal, which is not unfrequently the case, it is in insurrection against the laws. When, as in some recent executions, it sets in with the decision of penal justice, the effect is, the excitement and revolting expression of malignant and ferocious joy, which has in it nothing virtuous. Thus, in any case, whatever other purpose capital punishments may answer, by striking with terror those who are not yet hardened in crime, or branding certain crimes with the character of inexpiable and infamous offences, their demoralizing tendency cannot, in our opinion, be denied.

Art. VIII. *The Political Duties of the Ministers of Religion in Times of great National Excitement.* By the Rev. J. W. Cunningham, A.M., Vicar of Harrow. 8vo. pp. 42. Price 1s. 6d. London, 1831.

A VERY candid, judicious, and seasonable train of remark and admonition on a very delicate and important topic. Earnestly do we wish that every clergyman and minister of religion would take the faithful counsel of the much respected writer, with regard to the 'negative' and 'positive' duties which he considers as peculiarly incumbent upon them at the present critical period. Among the former are specified, —'shrinking from every thing like political notoriety'; intermeddling as little as possible with the details of politics; cautiously avoiding the character of a political partisan; and guarding against being betrayed by political bias into the vindication of what is morally wrong, or the violation of what is morally right. The more positive duties insisted upon, comprise,—the imperious obligation to give the strongest footing and widest prevalence to the great principles on which all true policy depends;—the duty of cherishing, amid contending political parties, a spirit of candour and kindness;—and that of 'labouring to qualify the people for the discharge of any new obligations which may devolve upon them.' The spirit of the pamphlet does honour to the Writer's heart. A better 'Charge' could not have been addressed to the clergy by any of the episcopal 'order'. We have room only for a few sentences towards the conclusion.

'We cannot force men into religion; and, if we could, force is any thing but the proper instrument of our warfare—*non religionis est, cogere religionem*. But we may, "by preaching and argument, by charity and sweetness, by holiness of life, assiduity of exhortation, by the word of God, and prayer", hope to win men from error, and attach them to the truth. And happy is that Minister of Religion who, though no sharer of his country's wealth or honours, can calmly consign himself to his grave of turf, with the joyful remembrance that he has, though with much imperfection, for which he casts himself on the compassion of his God, striven heartily, honestly, and in the gentle and loving spirit of his Master, to take much from the burdens of his country, and add much to her joys.'

ART. IX. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Early in January will appear, in demy 8vo., an *Essay on the Rights of Hindoos over Ancestral Property*, according to the Law of Bengal. By Rajah Rammohun Roy. With an Appendix, containing Letters on the Hindoo Law of Inheritance.

Also, by the same Author, in 1 Vol. demy 8vo., *Remarks on East India Affairs*; comprising the Evidence to the Committee of the House of Commons on the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India; with a Dissertation on its Ancient Boundaries, and its Civil and Religious Divisions; also, Suggestions for the future Government of the Country. Illustrated by a Map, and further enriched with Notes by the distinguished Author.

Just ready, in 1 Vol. royal 8vo., illustrated with Plates, *Who Can They Be? or, a Description of a Singular Race of Aborigines, inhabiting the Summits of the Neilgherry Hills, or Blue Mountains of Coimbatore*. By Captain H. Harkness, of the Madras Army.

Early in January will be published, Part IV. of India; or, Facts submitted to illustrate the Character and Condition of the Native Inhabitants, the Causes which have for ages obstructed the Improvement of the Country; with Suggestions for reforming the present System, and the Measures to be adopted for its future Government at the Expiration (in 1834,) of the present Charter of the East India Company. By Robert Rickards, Esq. This Part will complete the Second Volume.

Nearly ready, in 1 Vol. demy 8vo., illustrated with Plates, *A Six Weeks' Tour in Switzerland and France*, giving an accurate Account of the different routes, and affording every necessary information for the guidance of future Travellers. By the Rev. William Liddiard, Author of "*A Metrical Tale of Switzerland*," "*The Legend of Einsidlin*," &c. &c.

In a few days will be published, in 2 Vols. foolscap 8vo., with a Portrait, *The Records of a Good Man's Life*. By the Rev. Charles B. Tayler, M.A. Author of "*May You Like It*," "*A Fireside Book*," &c. &c.

Nearly ready, in post 8vo., Illustrated, *Summer Thoughts and Rambles*; a Collection of Tales, Facts, and Legends. By Henry Glassford Bell, Esq. Author of "*Summer and Winter Hours*," &c.

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On the 1st of February, 1832, will be published (to be continued regularly on the 1st of February in every succeeding year,) the *Cabinet Annual Register*, and Historical, Political, Biographical and Miscellaneous Chronicle for the year 1831. Strictly neutral in politics, this work aspires to present to the public a History of the Year, at once brief and comprehensive. It will comprise an impartial Retrospect of Public Affairs, at Home and Abroad—A Summary of the Parliamentary Debates—A Chronicle of Events and Occurrences—Reports of Remarkable Trials and Law Cases—Biographical Sketches of all the Distinguished Personages who have died during the year—Public Documents of value—Tables—Lists, &c. &c. It will form an exceedingly neat volume, consisting of upwards of 400 closely-printed pages, uniform, in size and appearance, with Dr. Lardner's Cabinet Library, neatly bound in cloth, and lettered, price 7s. 6d.; or, in elegant Turkey morocco half-binding, with gilt edges, &c. 10s.

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